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Yours for ever
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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE REVEREND

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

BY

HUGH PEARSON, D.D. M.R.A.S.

DEAN OF SALISBURY.

THIRD EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND

DANIEL,

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA,

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS

OF

THE VENERABLE AND APOSTOLIC SWARTZ,

THE SCENE OF WHOSE LABOURS

FORMS PART OF ONE OF THE EXTENSIVE DIOCESES

OVER WHICH

HIS LORDSHIP, AS METROPOLITAN OF INDIA, SO ABLY PRESIDES,

ARE,

IN TESTIMONY OF A LONG AND MOST ENDEARED FRIENDSHIP,

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

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PREFACE

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

It had long been a subject of regret with all who take an interest in the diffusion of Christianity among the heathen, more particularly in our Eastern empire, that a fuller account of the venerable Swartz, the most celebrated missionary of modern times, should not have been presented to the world. The general outline, and the more prominent events of his history, together with various extracts from his journals and letters, had, indeed, been extensively circulated, both in this country and on the continent; but his commanding views and principles as a christian teacher, the interior springs and motives of his conduct, together with much both of his public and private correspondence, and with many important and interesting particulars of his life, more especially

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with reference to some of the native princes, and to the government of India, and its grand and instructive impression as a whole, had been but imperfectly and partially communicated.

One of Mr. Swartz's most eminent fellow-labourers, the late Mr. Gerické, long cherished the intention of thus honouring the memory of his revered predecessor; but the care of the missions between Tanjore and Cape Comorin, which devolved upon him after the death of Swartz, so fully engrossed his time, that he could only find leisure to gratify his German friends with the narrative of his last days and dying hours, which will be found in the following pages. Within little more than two years afterwards, Mr. Gerické was himself removed from the world, without accomplishing the work for which he was in many respects peculiarly qualified.

The same cause which prevented this excellent man from fulfilling so grateful a duty, equally precluded Mr. Kohlhoff, the pious coadjutor and successor of Mr. Swartz in the mission at Tanjore, from doing more than transmitting to the Society, in whose service he was engaged, an enlarged and detailed account of the closing scene in the life of his venerable friend and father.

The late Dr. Buchanan, when requested, while at Calcutta, to write the life of Swartz, replied, that independently of his want of leisure, the good missionary had left no papers, and had ever deprecated

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posthumous praise. When, however, a few years afterwards, he visited Tanjore, he was so impressed and animated by what he saw and heard of Mr. Swartz, amidst that flourishing scene of his labours, that he made many inquiries of Mr. Kohlhoff and his brethren respecting their eminent predecessor, and engaged them to transmit to him the result of their recollections and researches. About three years after his return to Europe, Mr. Kohlhoff and Mr. Horst fulfilled this promise, by sending to Dr. Buchanan some valuable materials for the biography of Swartz, comprising a narrative of his life from his birth in 1726 to the year 1758, compiled chiefly from the missionary accounts published in Germany, together with copies of several of his manuscript sermons. In transmitting these documents, Mr. Horst expressed his hope of sending the rest of the narrative in the following year. This design, however, was unhappily frustrated by his own premature decease; and Mr. Kohlhoff was too much occupied with the labours of the mission to be able to fulfil his intention. To the materials thus imperfectly furnished from India, Dr. Buchanan added a series of extracts from the Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, relative to Mr. Swartz; but his various labours in the cause of Christianity in India, and the failure of his health, prevented him from making any further progress in this work.

From the period when my attention was first di-

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rected to the promotion of Christianity in India, by the prize Essay, proposed by Dr. Buchanan to the University of Oxford, I had been deeply interested in the character of the apostolic Swartz. Finding, therefore, while preparing the life of Buchanan, that he had collected some materials for that of the great missionary, I requested the executors of that zealous and munificent friend of missions, to allow me the use of those papers in compiling a fuller memoir of Mr. Swartz. This request having been kindly granted, my next object was to add to the collection from every quarter. My first application was to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, conceiving that its manuscript records might contain much that would illustrate the spirit and character of its revered missionary. It was, however, stated in reply, that the Society was not aware of the existence of any such papers; and that whatever it had deemed proper for publication in the letters of Mr. Swartz, had been regularly printed in its annual reports.

Failing as to this source of additional materials, I had recourse to my much esteemed friend the Rev. Dr. Steinkopff, at that time foreign secretary to the Bible Society, to procure from the German missionary correspondence, published at Halle, such extracts from the journals and letters of Mr. Swartz, as he might deem best calculated to promote my object in a memoir of his life and character. Dr. Steinkopff most readily undertook this task; and,

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My acknowledgments are justly due to the Right Honourable John Sullivan, for the communication of the letters of Mr. Swartz written to him in the years 1784 and 1785, during the eventful period when he was the resident at Tanjore; and to the Rev. H. H. Hayes, and the family of the late John Hudleston, Esq., during many years a member of the Court of Directors, for their kindness in permitting me to enrich this work with some valuable letters and extracts from the papers of that early friend and correspondent of the venerable missionary.*

To the Right Honourable Lord Glenelg, then President of the Board of Control, and to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, my warmest thanks are due, for the liberality with which they allowed me the fullest access to the records of our Indian government. From those authentic sources of information I derived many very important letters and documents, illustrative at once of the ability, integrity, and eminent usefulness of the pious missionary, and of the high and honourable principles, and the beneficent influence, of our East Indian authorities, both at home and abroad.

To Colonel Sir William Blackburne, who in early life was well acquainted with Mr. Swartz, and who, during many years immediately succeeding his death, filled, with great ability, the station of resident at the

* In 1833, when the First Edition of these Memoirs was published.

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court of Tanjore, similar acknowledgments are due, for his kindness in permitting me to peruse some private memorials of the principal transactions in which Mr. Swartz was engaged during the reigns of the Rajahs Tuljajee and Ameer Sing, as well as for some interesting anecdotes connected with his history.

I have deemed it expedient to introduce the following Memoirs by a brief sketch of the history of Christianity in India, from its origin to the period when Swartz arrived. The materials for this introductory sketch were derived chiefly from Niecamp[1] and La Croze.[2]

From the "Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph D. Jœnické," I have borrowed a few passages occurring in the letters of Swartz to his admirable fellow-labourer, introduced into that interesting little volume, together with some additional extracts from the German missionary correspondence.

It only remains for me, in concluding these prefatory observations, to express the heartfelt delight, and, I trust, the edification, which I derived from my long engagement in compiling the following Memoirs of him, of whom it may be justly said, as of a distinguished Roman of old, "Plurimæ consentiunt gentes, primarium fuisse virum"—or, in language more appropriate to his character, "whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches."

[1] Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in Indiâ Orientali. Halæ, 1747.

[2] Histoire du Christianisme des Indes.

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after making various inquiries of his friends at Halle, engaged the assistance of Mr. Falcké, a native of Hanover, who had been recommended by the Rev. Dr. Knapp, professor of divinity in that university, to be employed as a missionary by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in making the proposed selections.

This pious young man was detained for several months in England, in the year 1821, by a severe accident, during which time he completed a series of such extracts, the translation of which was superintended by Dr. Steinkopff. The selections thus prepared for my use extended from the year 1760, up to which period my previous materials reached, to 1796, and comprised the short account of the life and death of Mr. Swartz, published by Dr. Knapp at Halle, in 1799, in his "Recent History of the Protestant Missions for the Conversion of the Heathen in the East Indies."

It is necessary to give the preceding account of these extracts from the German missionary correspondence, in consequence of the appearance, a few years afterwards, of a work entitled, "Remains of the Rev. C. F. Schwartz, consisting of his Letters and Journals, with a sketch of his Life." This publication, though deficient in narrative, afforded to the English reader fuller details of the proceedings of that eminent missionary, and particularly of his intercourse with the heathen, than had been previously

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known. It was, however, restricted to his journals of five years, from 1768 to 1772, with an account of his journey to Hyder Ali at Seringapatam in 1779, and a few letters to his friends at Halle and in London.

While, therefore, the volume just referred to partially anticipated the history of the few years which it embraced, it left a wide field, before and after, almost untouched, which it was my anxious wish to occupy. Various circumstances contributed to retard the completion of this undertaking; but the delay has been the occasion of rendering it more worthy of the subject, and of general reception, than it could have been by an earlier publication.

To the kindness of the late Mrs. Chambers, widow of William Chambers, Esq., formerly of Madras and Calcutta, and one of the earliest and most esteemed correspondents of Mr. Swartz, I am indebted for a series of letters from the excellent missionary to Mr. and Mrs. Chambers, and to one of their near relatives, extending from the year 1769 to 1793, which, written with the confidence and affection of the most endeared and intimate friendship, display, in the clearest and most unaffected manner, the genuine sentiments and feelings of his heart.

Another much attached friend of Mr. Swartz, William Duffin, Esq., of York, added considerably to this store of his christian correspondence, as did the letters addressed by the benevolent missionary to the children of the late Colonel Wood,

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I can truly add, with one of the editors[1] of Archbishop Leighton's works, "that I have never spent an hour either in transcribing or correcting for the press the letters or journals of this wonderful man, for such I would deliberately call him, without feeling, amidst the interruption which such an employment would naturally occasion, some impressions which I could always wish to retain." May this record of the excellence of one who, to adopt the glowing expressions of a son[2] of his most intimate friend, "gained the love and veneration of his heathen neighbours, and ensured the grateful admiration of the christian world," be accompanied by that heavenly blessing, by which alone it can be rendered subservient to the great purpose for which he lived! May many go forth to preach the gospel to the heathen, animated by the same spirit, and be crowned with the same success! And may the sacred cause to which Swartz was so eminently and so consistently devoted, triumph over the ignorance, superstition, guilt, and misery, which oppress the fairest portions of the earth in which real Christianity is unknown, until that divine and saving truth universally prevail, not only in India, but throughout the world!

DEANERY, SALISBURY, *August* 9, 1839.

[1] The learned and pious Dr. Doddridge.

[2] The late Sir C. H. Chambers.

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CHAPTER XII.

Death of Hyder Ali—Continuation of the war by Tippoo Sultan—Return to Madras, and death of Sir Eyre Coote—Success of Colonel Fullarton in Southern India—Negociation for peace—Lord Macartney requests Mr. Swartz to join the Commissioners at Seringapatam—He consents, and sets out on the journey—Letters to Mr. Sullivan—Meets Colonel Fullarton and his army—He is stopped by Tippoo's officers at Sattimungalum—Returns to Tanjore—Declines attempting a second journey—Peace concluded with Tippoo—Letters to several friends on the preceding events—Journey with Mr. Sullivan to Ramanad—Plan of the provincial schools—Journey, on account of his health, to the coast—Letters to Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Duffin. 356

CHAPTER XIII.

Swartz as a Preacher—Extract of a letter, from Mr. Kohlhoff to Dr. Buchanan, upon this subject—Substance of four MS. Sermons of Swartz—Observations upon them. . . . 390

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INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

Extensive propagation of the gospel during the first four centuries—Subsequent decline—Slumber of the middle ages—Maritime discoveries of the Portuguese—Syrian Christians—Armenian Christians—Roman Catholic Missions—Zeal of the Dutch—Danish Mission—Ziegenbalg and Grundler—Patronage of the Tranquebar Mission by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—Schultz, and other Danish Missionaries—Establishment of a Mission at Madras—Introduction of Christianity into Tanjore—Mission at Cuddalore—Capture of Fort St. George by the French—Mr. Fabricius—Roman Catholic Churches and Mission Houses at Vepery and Cuddalore, granted to the Protestant Missionaries at the peace in 1748—State of the Danish Mission previously to the arrival of Swartz—Recapitulation.

THE propagation of the gospel during the first four centuries after the Christian era, presents a most important and interesting subject of contemplation to every reflecting mind. A new and divine religion had revealed to mankind the knowledge of the will of God, the good tidings of a Redeemer, and the

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promise of immortal life and happiness. Opposed as its spiritual principles and its moral precepts were to the prevailing philosophy, no less than to the multiplied superstitions and the corrupt passions of the Gentile world, the miraculous powers which distinguished the primitive ages of Christianity, and the piety and zeal of its early disciples, succeeded, under the guidance and blessing of its divine Author, in diffusing its influence with a rapidity, and to an extent, far exceeding that which has been witnessed at any subsequent period. It pervaded every province of the Roman empire, and even penetrated to regions beyond its widely-extended boundaries; and while it tended to ameliorate the character of polished nations, and to civilise the most barbarous people, it communicated to both blessings infinitely more valuable than any which refer merely to the transient interests of the present world.

The progress of the gospel during several succeeding centuries was slow and limited; while, in too many instances, the pure light of divine truth became gradually obscured, and in others utterly overwhelmed and extinguished, by error, superstition, and barbarism.

It was not till the tenth century that Christianity made any effectual impression on the eastern and northern states of Europe, nor was it before the commencement of the fifteenth, that it finally triumphed over Paganism in that quarter of the world. In the meantime, the conquests of the Turks and Tartars in Asia and Africa opposed an invincible barrier to the

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progress of the gospel in those continents; while the darkness and slumber of the middle ages paralysed the efforts of European Christians for its extension in any part of the globe.

The maritime discoveries of the Portuguese towards the close of the fifteenth century, by opening a new world to the nations of Europe, appeared to rouse their dormant energies in propagating the knowledge of Christianity. On the coast of Africa, in America and its islands, and in the islands and maritime provinces of Asia, the Spaniards and Portuguese, armed by the authority and stimulated by the zeal of the court of Rome, distinguished themselves in this sacred cause. The progress of the Reformation, by giving an effectual check to the ambition of the Roman pontiffs, and by depriving them of a considerable part of their spiritual dominion in Europe, might perhaps have tended to increase their ardour in the propagation of their religion in distant quarters of the world. Their efforts were powerfully seconded by the institution of the order of Jesuits in the year 1540; a certain number of that celebrated society having been, from its commencement, devoted to the purpose of extending the pale of the Romish church in heathen nations.

When the Portuguese, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, first established themselves on the coast of Malabar, they found a community of native Christians who welcomed their arrival, and

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were prepared to receive them as friends and brethren. These were the Syrian, or, as they have been generally called, after the Portuguese designation, the St. Thomè Christians; whose uniform tradition respecting their origin represents them as descended from the converts of the apostle St. Thomas in India, during the first century. The correctness of this tradition, notwithstanding some remarkable corroborations of its truth, has been sometimes doubted.[1] Certain, however, it is, from authentic ecclesiastical records, that a christian church, episcopal in its constitution, and deriving a succession of bishops from the patriarchs of Babylon and Antioch, has existed on the coast, from Cape Comorin to Cranganore, and in the interior of Malabar, more than fifteen hundred years. Every circumstance relative to the history of the Syrian Christians indicates their remote origin: while their situation, surrounded by the darkness of Hindoo superstition and idolatry, in the midst of which they have, during so many ages, faithfully, though feebly, preserved the light of heavenly truth, renders them in a high degree interesting.

Such was the estimation in which they were held, and such the influence which they had obtained so

[1] Bishop Heber and Archdeacon Robinson incline to favour the claim of the Syro-Malabaric church to this apostolic origin. "Journal," vol. ii. 278, and the "Last Days of Bishop Heber," p. 317, in which the arguments of Paulinus, from his "India Orientalis Christiana" in its support are abstracted. For the less ancient traditions, see Tillemont and La Croze.

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early as the ninth century, doubtless from the general superiority of their moral character, that the native princes of Cochin and Travancore, in whose territory they were principally established, granted them various civil privileges, and their clergy ranked next to the Nairs, or nobles of the country. For a long period they enjoyed an independent government under their own native princes; and even when, in process of time, they became again subject to a heathen sovereign, they continued to be governed in civil as well as ecclesiastical concerns by the bishop of Angamala.[1]

It cannot be a subject of surprise that corruptions, both in faith and practice, should in the course of ages have crept into this ancient church. We accordingly find that the opposite errors of Nestorius and Eutyches concerning the person and natures of our Lord, together with various superstitious ceremonies and irregular observances, have prevailed among them. At the period, however, when the fleets of Portugal first visited the shores of India, the St. Thomè Christians, though tainted with the Nestorian heresy, were entirely ignorant of the great western apostasy, knew nothing of the usurped supremacy of the Pope, and had never heard of the worship of the Virgin Mary, of transubstantiation, purgatory, or any of the peculiar errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome. A circumstance so fatal to the proud and exclusive pretensions of that See could not but excite the jealousy and

[1] Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 347.

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alarm of its bigoted adherents. Hence it was, that no sooner had the Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Malabar, than the Romish clergy, and especially the Jesuits, who, with a zeal worthy of a purer faith, had flocked to make converts in this newly discovered territory, instead of embracing the Syrian Christians as brethren, and endeavouring by mild and benevolent methods to correct what might have been really erroneous in their creed, to improve their general character, and to protect them from the oppression of the neighbouring heathen princes under which they found them suffering, determined on compelling them to submit to the Papal jurisdiction, and to conform to the tenets and ritual of the Church of Rome. After a long series of intrigues, artifices, and persecutions, Menezes, archbishop of Goa, who presided at a synod convened in the year 1599 at Diamper, near Cochin, succeeded in persuading the Syro-Malabaric churches to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and to submit to the Romish jurisdiction. The archbishop, at the same time, expunged the alleged Nestorian errors from their liturgy, and, with the bigotry and intolerance which characterised all his proceedings, committed to the flames the ecclesiastical books and ancient records of the Syrian church.

The triumph, however, of Menezes was partial and temporary. The churches in the interior yielded only a forced and apparent compliance with his decrees; and about sixty years after the

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synod of Diamper, the conquest of Cochin by the Dutch, and the expulsion of the Portuguese from the greater part of the coast of Malabar, afforded them the opportunity of shaking off the Romish yoke, and of regaining their ancient ecclesiastical independence. This they have ever since maintained under a metropolitan bishop of their own nation, while the more numerous churches, chiefly on the coast, have continued their connexion with the Papal See; and, except that they have been permitted to retain the Syriac language in their liturgy, are in strict conformity with the Romish church. The numbers of these native Christians, comprising both the purer Syrian and the Syro-Roman churches, have been estimated at about two hundred thousand.

The independent part of the Syrian Christians, who possess about fifty churches among the hills of Malayala, having, upon their emancipation from the Portuguese dominion, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, very naturally admitted the doctrine of that church, in direct opposition to their former Nestorian error. In either case, however, the tenet seems to have been little more than verbal. The Apostles' Creed was the only one recited in their service; nor did they, in fact, essentially differ from the Catholic doctrine respecting the divinity of the Son of God.

Upon the subject of the sacraments, and in their liturgical offices, they doubtless fell into many errors and superstitions: but considering their long seclusion from any more enlightened Christian

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community, the secession of the larger portion of their brethren to the Romish church, and the incessant persecutions to which they were exposed, the destruction of their books, and their consequent want of education, it is only wonderful that they have retained so much scriptural knowledge, and present so striking and favourable a contrast, not only to the heathens around them, but to the Roman Catholics, from whose power they have been so happily extricated.

Next in antiquity to the Syrian Christians are the members of the Armenian church, who, dispersed as they are throughout Asia, and engaged in commercial pursuits, are to be found in every part of India. They differ in various respects both from the Greek and Latin church, and may in general be said to be free from essential error and corruption. They have places of worship at the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, as well as in the interior of the country, and are supplied with ministers from Persia, and occasionally visited by bishops and archdeacons, under the superintendence of the patriarch of Echmiatzin. The numbers of the Armenian Christians in India do not exceed a few thousands, nor have they ever appeared anxious to extend the pale of their communion.

The zeal of the Portuguese clergy, and of the various missionaries of the Romish church, among whom the justly celebrated Francis Xavier holds the most distinguished place, effected the conversion of thousands of the natives of India to the Roman

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Catholic faith. The greater number of these converts were at Goa, and Cranganore, and in other stations on the coast of Malabar, under the more immediate influence of the Portuguese government; but the missions in Madura and Mysore, in Marava and the Island of Ceylon, on the coast of Coromandel and in the Carnatic, were, if we may credit the reports, more particularly of the Jesuit missionaries, eminently and extensively successful. Many deductions must undoubtedly be made with respect to the numbers of Hindoo converts thus asserted by the missionaries of the Romish church. But even admitting to whatever extent the success of their exertions, the Anti-Christian and unworthy methods to which the Jesuits had recourse, and the merely external and nominal profession of Christianity with which they were for the most part contented, tend to reduce to a very low scale the estimate of their labours, in what must otherwise be deemed a noble and most important enterprise.

The expedient resorted to by Robert di Nobili, chief of the Jesuits College at Madura, in the sixteenth century, and one of the most eminent followers of Xavier, of adopting, together with his clergy, the dress, habits, and manners of the brahmins, is a striking instance of those unwise and equivocal attempts to conciliate the Hindoos, by compromising the truth and simplicity of Christianity. This learned and zealous man, with the same well-intentioned but mistaken policy, composed a work in Sanscrit, consisting of dialogues between a Christian

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and a Hindoo, in which, though the preponderance of argument is in favour of the Christian, the Hindoo, in order to convince his countrymen of the folly of idolatry, is made to reason powerfully in support of the principles of pure theism. A translation of this work having been transmitted from Pondicherry to the king's library at Paris, Voltaire, presuming it to be the genuine production of a Hindoo, triumphantly appealed to it as a decisive proof, that it was unnecessary and superfluous to urge the doctrines of Christianity upon a people who were already so well informed as to the tenets of natural religion.

The failure of all such worldly expedients on the part of the Romish missionaries in India, is candidly acknowledged by the Abbé Dubois; who, however, strangely attributes it, not to the refusal of the divine blessing to a method of proceeding so contrary to apostolic principles and practice, but to the effect of the divine predestination!

The decline of the Portuguese dominion on the coast of Malabar naturally diminished the influence and the success of the Roman Catholic missionaries in India; while the zeal of the Dutch, more especially in Ceylon, though liable in some measure to the objection which has been urged against the missions of the Church of Rome, as to the worldly policy and the culpable facility with which converts to their respective communions were too frequently encouraged, augmented to a very large amount the numbers of professed Christians in that island.

Though the piety and zeal of Protestants had often

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excited an anxious desire to propagate the pure and reformed faith of the gospel in heathen countries, its establishment and defence against the hostile attempts of Popish adversaries at home, together with the want of suitable opportunities and facilities for so great a work, combined, during the first century after the Reformation, to prevent them from making any direct or vigorous efforts for this purpose. A regard to sound policy, as well as the sense of duty, had, as we have just seen, prompted the Dutch to accompany their conquests with laudable endeavours to promote Christianity in India; but it was reserved for the Danes to be entitled to the high honour of setting the first example of an institution for the express purpose of communicating to its native inhabitants that inestimable blessing.

The crown of Denmark had, since the year 1621, by the cession of the Rajah of Tanjore, been possessed of the town of Tranquebar, and a small adjoining territory, on the coast of Coromandel. The Jesuits had long before built a church there, but had done nothing towards the propagation of Christianity among the natives; while the Danish merchants, occupied only with the interests of commerce, were altogether indifferent to their religious condition. Such was the state of things when, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, Frederick IV., King of Denmark, on the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Lutkens, one of his majesty's chaplains, who had proposed the subject to him when only prince regent, determined, notwithstanding the advice of some who

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thought the design premature and ill-timed, to establish a mission for the conversion of the heathen at Tranquebar. With this view the king directed an application to be made to the celebrated Dr. Francke, professor of divinity in the University of Halle, in Saxony, whose well-known devotion to the cause of religion, and recent establishment of the Oriental College of Divinity in that place, peculiarly qualified him for such a task; requesting him to recommend from among his pupils those whom he might deem best calculated, by their learning and piety, to lay the foundation of this important work. Dr. Francke made choice of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a young man of eminent talents and religious excellence, who had been educated at Halle under his own immediate superintendence, and who happening to be at Berlin when Dr. Lutkens was inquiring for suitable persons to be employed as missionaries, joyfully accepted the proposal. He was soon afterwards joined by his friend and fellow student, Henry Plutscho, who was actuated by a similar desire of engaging in the first Protestant mission to India. These pious men, having received holy orders from the bishop of Zealand, embarked at Copenhagen on the 29th of November, 1705, and, after a pleasant voyage, arrived at Tranquebar on the 9th of July, 1706.

Here, notwithstanding their commission from the king of Denmark, the missionaries, instead of being kindly received, were discouraged and opposed by the Danish authorities. Undismayed, however, by

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the various difficulties which surrounded them, and fortifying themselves by the study of the word of God, particularly of the Acts of the Apostles, and by prayer, these excellent men entered without delay on their arduous undertaking. Their first object was to acquire the knowledge of the Portuguese language, which, from its introduction two centuries before, was now generally understood by the natives, and then of the Tamul, the vernacular language of the country from Madras southward, and the greater part of the extremity of the peninsula, and of the north of Ceylon. Such was their zeal and diligence, that in the course of a few months they had acquired a sufficient knowledge of both languages to enable them to catechise the native children in two schools which they had established, and which they supported out of their own slender funds.[1] Ziegenbalg particularly devoted himself to the study of the Tamul; and such was his extraordinary proficiency, that he not only acquired a very extensive acquaintance with the books written in that language on Hindoo mythology and history, but soon began to converse fluently with the natives on moral and religious subjects.

The first fruits of his labours in this interesting field was the conversion of a young man of high caste, named Modaliapa, who, while assisting Ziegenbalg in acquiring the knowledge of Tamul, became gradually convinced of the errors of idolatry, and of the

[1] The account of the early labours of Ziegenbalg and his brethren of the Danish mission, particularly in the study of the Tamul language, by Niecamp and La Croze, is highly interesting and instructive.

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truth of the divine religion which he saw so admirably exemplified in him and his fellow missionary. After much reflection and intercourse with these pious men, he at length delighted them by declaring that he was "willing to live and die with them: desiring nothing more than a bare maintenance in this world, if he might but partake of the blessings and promises of the gospel." When Dr. Buchanan visited Tranquebar, in 1806, precisely a century after this cheering event, he found in an apartment in Ziegenbalg's house the registers of the church, in which the name of this first heathen convert was inscribed.

The conversion of this young man, and of a native female of rank, appears to have excited considerable attention, and to have been reported to the Rajah of Tanjore, who sent an officer with assurances of friendship, and the offer of a guard to accompany them, if they should be disposed to travel into the interior of his territories. This, however, they did not at that time think it expedient to accept.

In the month of May, 1707, the missionaries publicly baptized several of their catechumens in the Danish church at Tranquebar, on which interesting occasion Ziegenbalg preached in Tamul on the conversion of the heathen, and the best method of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel. A few days afterwards, they conferred on one of their converts the office of a catechist, to assist them in the instruction of his native countrymen; and on the 14th of June, notwithstanding their slender means for such an undertaking, they commenced the building of a church

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for the use of the mission. Such was the blessing with which this pious design was attended, that with the assistance of those who were friendly, and even of some who were at first opposed to it, the building was completed in the month of August following, and consecrated in the presence of a large assembly both of Christians, heathens, and Mahomedans. This church was built of stone, and in the midst of the native population, a little out of the town. Here the missionaries regularly preached both in Portuguese and Tamul twice in every week; and here, after baptizing some additional catechumens, and administering the holy communion, they laid the foundation of a numerous and flourishing church, composed of converts well prepared and instructed in the principles of the gospel, and for the most part duly accrediting the sincerity of their Christian profession.

Being deeply convinced of the importance of early instruction, the missionaries lost no time in establishing a school for the education of such native Tamul children as they could collect for this purpose, some of whom they contrived to clothe and feed at their own expense. To this they shortly added a Portuguese school. The zeal and diligence of these devoted men were scarcely ever exceeded. In a letter from Ziegenbalg to Dr. Lutkens, he gives a striking sketch of his varied and laborious occupations during each day. Passing from his early devotions to the explanation of Luther's catechism in Portuguese, he proceeded to the study of Tamul, and then to conversation and read-

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ing with a native poet, for the purpose of perfecting himself in that language. After some short refreshment and repose, he catechised the children, then returned to the study of the Tamul, and afterwards joined in an exercise of piety with some German residents at Tranquebar. "All the evenings," he adds, "we converse with each other respecting our work, and the best means of advancing it. After supper, I review the business of the day, and examine my own heart, and conclude with singing and prayer." Can it be surprising that a man thus piously and ardently engaged should be eminently successful, or that he should too soon be exhausted by such incessant exertions?

Amidst the blessing of God which followed their various labours, the faith and patience of these pious missionaries were severely tried by the loss of two considerable remittances from Europe, by the shipwreck of the vessels on board of which the money had been embarked, and still more by the continued opposition of the European inhabitants. To such a height had this arisen, that at one period the excellent Ziegenbalg was even arrested by the Danish governor, and detained in prison for four months, during which his firmness, and activity of mind were as conspicuous as his resignation to this unjust and disgraceful proceeding.

The disinterestedness and self-denial of the missionaries, combined with the assistance of some charitable individuals, enabled them to defray their increasing expenses until the month of July, 1709,

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when a most seasonable and important supply reached them from Europe, by the arrival of three new missionaries, Messrs. Grundler, Bœving, and Jordan, bringing with them a considerable sum of money, together with a variety of stores for the use of the mission. The persecution which the missionaries had so long suffered from the Danish residents was at the same time considerably checked by the authoritative interference of their royal patron, the King of Denmark, who sent out his positive commands to the governor of Tranquebar to assist and encourage their pious labours to the utmost of his power.

It was in this year that the Danish mission became first known in England, by the translation of some letters from the missionaries, addressed to one of their friends in London. The attention of religious persons was powerfully excited by this interesting publication, particularly that of the Rev. Mr Boehm, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, one of the earliest members of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been then a few years established. A present both of money and books was immediately sent by the Society to Tranquebar, and a brief but cordial notice of the mission was inserted in the report of its proceedings for that year. Such was the commencement of the disinterested and important patronage afforded to the Danish mission by that venerable Society; which, while it reflected the highest honour on its members, contributed so effectually to the extension and support of Christianity in India.

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In 1710, Ziegenbalg undertook a journey to Madras, to ascertain what prospect there might be of gaining access to the heathen, either by the way and in the neighbouring country, or in the town itself, with a view to their conversion to Christianity. The congregation at Tranquebar entreated him with tears not to quit them, or to return as soon as possible. At Chillumbrum, quitting the territory of Tanjore, he entered what were then the dominions of the Great Mogul, and proceeded to Porto Novo and Cuddalore, and from thence to Fort St. David's; and on the tenth day, having touched at St. Thomas's Mount, arrived at Madras in the evening. There he was kindly received by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, chaplain to the factory, with whom the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge were in correspondence on the subject of the Danish mission. During his stay at this place, Ziegenbalg made many inquiries respecting the religious wants of its inhabitants. "Madras," he writes, "is advantageously situated for spreading Christianity, if the English who command there would but second our endeavours, or join with us in propagating the gospel in the East. I found here a letter from Mr. Boehm, wherein he gives us some hope that the English might perhaps be prevailed on in time to concern themselves in so promising and worthy a design."

In the course of the three following years, independently of a considerable sum collected by a general contribution[1] among its members, and transmitted

[1] La Croze, tom. ii. liv. 7.

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to the missionaries, the Society printed, principally for their use, an edition of the Portuguese New Testament, and sent out to them a printing-press, a fount of Roman and Italic types, and a large quantity of paper for printing. The fate of the press was remarkable. The vessel in which it was embarked was captured by the French, and carried to the Brazils, where the printer who had charge of it died; but the press, which lay concealed in the hold of the vessel, having been re-purchased by the Society, was in the following spring safely landed at Madras. About the same time, the missionaries received from Germany a fount of Tamul characters. They afterwards succeeded in casting superior Tamul types at Tranquebar, and attempted the manufacture of paper, and were thus enabled to print a variety of books and tracts, which were eminently useful in the dissemination of Christian knowledge. Of these the most valuable and important was the translation of the New Testament into the Tamul language. Ziegenbalg had early conceived the design of this great undertaking, and commenced it in the year 1708, as soon as he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to write it with correctness and elegance. His translation was completed in 1711, but the printing of it was delayed, for the purpose of rendering it more perfect by the most careful revision, till the year 1714, when it issued from the press at Tranquebar. The Romish missionaries had printed various tracts in Tamul, but they were chiefly catechisms, the lives of

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saints, or other legendary tales of their church. After two hundred years, in which they had professed to preach the gospel, it was reserved to Ziegenbalg to be the first to translate the inspired record into one of the most prevalent languages of India. "May God Almighty," said he, addressing the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge on transmitting a copy of this translation, "prosper our labours by his heavenly blessing, and grant that his Holy Word, like an incorruptible seed, may be scattered among these nations, to preserve them from eternal destruction!"

The King of Denmark had, in the year 1711, granted to the missionaries at Tranquebar a pension of two thousand crowns, and in 1714 his majesty[1] founded a college at Copenhagen, for the purpose of superintending and supporting the interests of the mission. The number of converts now amounted nearly to three hundred, the greater part of whom had been received into the church by baptism. The schools contained upwards of eighty children, who were nearly all supported as well as instructed by the missionaries; and the number of persons employed in the service of the mission, including schoolmasters, catechists, and others, exceeded twenty. This increasing charge, and the consequent labours and responsibility which resulted to the

[1] An abstract of the King's instructions to the Missionary College is contained in the volume of letters from Ziegenbalg and Plutscho to their friends in Europe. They are highly creditable to the piety of that excellent monarch.

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missionaries, together with the difficulties with which they had long struggled, induced Ziegenbalg to determine on a voyage to Europe, whither his friend Plutchso had already returned, for the purpose of more effectually promoting the important work in which he and his colleagues were engaged.

Having, therefore, consigned to the care of Grundler the concerns of the mission, and satisfactorily arranged their differences with the Danish governor, he embarked in the month of October, 1714, and was accompanied by a young native convert. With his assistance, Ziegenbalg occupied his time during the voyage in translating part of the Old Testament into the Tamul, and in composing a grammar of that language in Latin, which was printed at Halle in 1716, and is still highly esteemed by Oriental scholars. On the 1st of June, 1715, Ziegenbalg arrived at Bergen, in Norway, from whence he repaired to Stralsund, in Pomerania, for the purpose of presenting himself and his Hindoo companion to the King of Denmark, who was then personally engaged at the siege of that place. After a most gracious reception by that monarch, who conferred upon him the title of "Inspector of the Missions," he proceeded to Copenhagen, where he was most cordially welcomed, and made some arrangements with the Danish East India Company, of considerable importance to the mission at Tranquebar. His next visit was to Professor Francke, at Halle, who took the liveliest interest in his labours, and who, both by his counsels and his contributions, was one

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of the principal supporters of his mission. While at that place, he married a lady to whom he had been long attached, and then pursued his course to England, where he landed towards the end of the year. Here he was received with the cordiality and respect to which he was so justly entitled. He had the honour of being presented to King George I., who made many inquiries respecting the mission, and assured him of his royal patronage. The Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] and the Bishop of London, treated him with the highest consideration and kindness. By the former of these prelates he was introduced to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and received a congratulatory address in Latin, to which he returned an admirable reply in Tamul, immediately adding a translation of his speech into Latin. The Society made Ziegenbalg a liberal present both of money, paper, and books; and the Directors of the East India Company having generously given him a free passage on board one of their ships, he embarked at Deal on the 4th of March, and after rather a dangerous voyage, during which he improved his knowledge of the English language, landed at Madras on the 10th of August, 1716, where he was most hospitably received by the governor, and the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, chaplain to that Presidency. This excellent person had much at heart the propagation of the gospel in India, and an admirable letter from him to the Secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge,

[1] Dr. Wake.

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dated in Dec. 1716, occurs in the Society's Reports, on the chief impediments to this important work, the reasons which induced him to hope for success in it, and the methods which he thought most likely to promote it. In this letter, Mr. Stevenson bears a most satisfactory testimony to the labours and the success of the missionaries at Tranquebar; and though much of his information is now familiar to those who have at all considered the subject, and some of his suggestions have been long since carried into effect, this sensible and pious address may still be read with interest and advantage.

After a few days' refreshment at Madras, Ziegenbalg rejoined his excellent colleague, Grundler, at Tranquebar, and resumed with renewed vigour the arduous work of his mission. They immediately instituted a seminary for the education of native youths, to be employed as catechists and schoolmasters; and shortly afterwards, at the suggestion of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and with the assistance of Mr. Stevenson, and the approbation of the governor of Madras, they established Tamul and Portuguese schools at Madras and Cuddalore. In the course of the following year, 1717, the church at Tranquebar having been much injured by an inundation, the missionaries built a second, and appropriated the old one to the instruction of catechumens and the burial of the dead. Ziegenbalg was incessantly occupied in the translation of the Bible into Tamul, in journeys to some of the

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neighbouring districts, and in religious discussions both with Hindoos and Mahomedans.

Amidst these labours he occasionally corresponded with the friends of the mission in Europe, and received from them the warmest assurances of approbation and support. Encouraged by the condescension of King George I., he addressed a letter to that monarch on the duty and expediency of diffusing the gospel in the British colonies in India. In reply to this communication, Ziegenbalg received a letter from his royal patron, strongly expressive of his majesty's interest in the success of the sacred cause in which he was engaged.[1]

But the labours of Ziegenbalg were drawing rapidly to a close. In the autumn of the year 1718, the health of this indefatigable man began to fail. He languished for a few months amidst great weakness and pain; and with a faint hope of relief from travelling, he commenced a journey along the coast. Having reached Cuddalore, he found his end approaching, and sent for his friend Grundler, to whom on his arrival he expressed the most humble yet exalted hope of heavenly happiness; and having received the holy communion, and requested a favourite Lutheran hymn to be sung, he expired in perfect peace, on the 23rd of February, 1719, in the 36th year of his age, deeply lamented by his excel-

[1] This, and a subsequent letter from his majesty to the Danish missionaries, together with a truly apostolic letter from Archbishop Wake, were introduced by Dr. Buchanan in his Ecclesiastical Memoir, and in his Christian Researches.

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lent colleague and the native converts, and esteemed and regretted even by the Pagans themselves.

The character of Ziegenbalg was indeed truly admirable. His exalted piety and ardent zeal were regulated by the soundest judgment, and tempered by dispositions and manners so kind and amiable, that he attracted and conciliated all around him; while his unwearied activity, patience, and perseverance, enabled him to overcome difficulties which to many would have proved insuperable, and to establish his mission upon the most solid foundation. His translation of the New Testament into Tamul, is alone sufficient to immortalise his name; and has proved, as he fervently implored when he commenced this great undertaking, a source of incalculable and endless blessings to succeeding generations in India.

The loss sustained by the death of Ziegenbalg was in some measure repaired by the arrival, in the month of September following, of three new missionaries, Messrs. Schultz, Dahl, and Keistenmacher, who had embarked on board an English East Indiaman, after a short visit to this country, during which they experienced the usual kindness and munificence of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Such an accession to the mission was peculiarly seasonable and critical, the health of Grundler having already suffered a severe shock, and being still extremely feeble and precarious. He exerted himself, however, with almost prophetic diligence and vigour, in preparing his new colleagues for their various

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labours, as if anticipating the approaching conclusion of his own. This excellent man survived his beloved friend Ziegenbalg little more than a year. He had projected a distant journey, for the purpose of preaching the gospel, and in prosecution of this design had even embarked for Cuddalore ; but finding himself unable to proceed, he returned to Tranquebar, where his illness rapidly increased. On the 15th of March, 1720, Grundler performed his last public service, and three days afterwards resigned his pious spirit into the hands of his Redeemer, and was interred in the Mission Church, near the remains of his departed colleague.

Schultz now became the superior of the Danish mission, and proved himself worthy of following his admirable predecessors. The severe losses which it had recently sustained, excited the hopes of its Roman Catholic adversaries in India that it must be abandoned, and awakened the apprehensions of many even of its European friends.

The piety and energy of Schultz and his fellow missionaries were, however, fully equal to this trying emergency. They laboured diligently in the acquisition of the native languages, in which they were soon able to catechise and preach ; and instead of yielding to despondency, they enlarged the sphere of their labours. Aided by the liberal contributions of the governors of Madras and Fort St. David, and of other friends both in India and Europe, they increased the number of their schools, and of their publications from the press, and resumed the visits

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of their predecessors to the neighbouring towns and villages. Within five years from the death of Ziegenbalg, one hundred and fifty converts were added to the church.

In the year 1724, three additional missionaries, Messrs. Bosse, Pressier, and Walther, who had been selected by Professor Francke, and had sailed under the auspices of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, arrived at Tranquebar. They were charged with a letter to Mr. Schultz from Archbishop Wake, in which the venerable primate, after expressing his satisfaction at this augmentation of the mission, recommended him to select from the native converts those who might appear to be the best qualified, and to associate them, in case of necessity, in his evangelical labours. Such was the ardour of the new missionaries in the study of the Portuguese and Tamul languages, which they had commenced during the voyage to India, that within three months after their arrival, they were able to enter upon their duties both as catechists and preachers.

Among the objects to which Schultz had directed his most earnest attention was the continuation of the translation of the Old Testament into Tamul, which Ziegenbalg had conducted only as far as the book of Ruth. He commenced this arduous undertaking early in the year 1723, and regularly devoted to it six hours every day. Schultz was well acquainted with the original Hebrew, and consulted most of the European versions. He was assisted by

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a learned brahmin and other well-informed natives, and the translation underwent a careful revision by his colleagues. This important work was concluded in 1725, and the first part of it was immediately committed to the press. In 1727 the printing was completed, when the delight of presenting to the native converts the whole Bible in their own language, made him forget all the toil and pains which it had cost him; while, in common with every other labourer in this sacred service, he had been abundantly repaid during its progress by those copious communications of divine wisdom and strength, with which a more intimate acquaintance with the Word of God had enriched his mind.

Having finished this great undertaking, early in the year 1726, Schultz, leaving to his colleagues the care of the mission at Tranquebar, determined on a visit to Madras, and embarked for Cuddalore, where he preached in German, Portuguese, and Tamul. Continuing his journey by land, he omitted no opportunity of instructing the natives in the towns and villages on his way, and arrived at Madras on the 8th of May. Here he was hospitably received by the English chaplain, and spent some months in zealous endeavours to promote the knowledge of the gospel in that city and its neighbourhood. Amongst other labours, Schultz re-established the school founded by Mr. Stevenson, which had been entirely abandoned, for the instruction of native children.

At the commencement of the next year died the learned and pious Professor Francke, of Halle, who

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had contributed materially to the establishment of the Danish mission, and who, more than any other person in Europe, had laboured zealously and successfully in its support. On the death of this able and excellent man, the Mission College at Copenhagen requested his son, who succeeded him in the professorship at Halle, to continue the correspondence which his father had so beneficially carried on in behalf of the mission. About the same time, his majesty King George I. addressed a second most gracious and encouraging letter to the missionaries at Tranquebar, who also received a considerable present in money, together with paper for the printing of the Tamul translation of the Bible, from the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

In the year 1728, the same venerable Society, on the recommendation of Mr. Schultz, undertook the sole patronage and support of a mission at Madras. With the assistance of the governor and council, a house was purchased in the Black Town for the use of the mission, of which Schultz took charge, and to which he immediately removed. There he preached constantly in the Tamul, Telinga, and Portuguese languages; and besides the superintendence of schools and other zealous labours, translated parts of the Bible, together with various tracts on religion into Telinga and Hindostanee. The jealousy of the Roman Catholic priests, no less than of some native teachers, as in other places, excited considerable opposition, in some instances leading to open violence, against Schultz himself, as well

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as some of the Madras converts; but they were protected by the governor, their numbers gradually increased, and under the blessing of God the new mission prospered.

In the mean time, an opening had been providentially afforded for the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Tanjore, by means of a subaltern officer in the service of the rajah of that country, named Rajanaiken. This young man, whose father and grandfather were Roman Catholics, had been baptized in that church; and being ardently desirous of religious knowledge, he had learned to read when he was about twenty-two years of age. From the Roman Catholic legends, and from the priests themselves, he derived little or no satisfaction; but happening to visit a pandaram[1] of his acquaintance, who possessed a copy of Ziegenbalg's Tamul translation of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, he was so delighted with the discovery that he read it night and day, and transcribed a considerable part of the volume before he found that he might be permitted to retain it. About two years afterwards, having been sent on military duty to the neighbourhood of Tranquebar, he met with an address of the missionaries to the natives, which induced him first to open a correspondence with them, and then to visit them. In consequence of the instruction which he thus received, Rajanaiken became convinced of the errors of Popery, and cordially embraced the reformed doctrines; and

[1] A Hindoo devotee.

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such was the zeal of the new convert, that he immediately began to instruct his countrymen, both Pagan and Roman Catholic. The first fruits of his labours were three of his own soldiers, who were in the course of that year baptized at Tranquebar.

The example of Rajanaiken was soon followed by that of others. Surappen, a native who had been converted to the Roman Catholic faith, and was at that time employed as a catechist, perceiving the errors of the Romish church, sent his son Sattianaden to Tranquebar, to be instructed in the purer principles of the gospel. Surappen was in the mean time actively engaged, notwithstanding the opposition of the Roman Catholic missionaries, in making proselytes to the Protestant faith. A few months afterwards Sattianaden conducted more than fifteen converts to be baptized at Tranquebar; and having offered his services in the propagation of the gospel, the missionaries established him as catechist in the kingdom of Tanjore.[1] Though no undue means were resorted to by the Danish missionaries or their catechists, in the exercise of their christian ministry, the jealousy of the Roman Catholics was so much excited by their progress, that they persecuted the father of Sattianaden till they compelled him to return to the communion of their church, and even refused the rites of sepulture to his grandmother, though she died in the Roman Catholic faith.

Rajanaiken was also exposed to their persecutions. He was now in the service of the prince of Marava,

[1] Niecamp, vol. ii. p. 197.

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and being confirmed in his attachment to Christianity by frequent visits to Tranquebar, he was unwearied in his endeavours to communicate it to his companions. He succeeded in convincing several who had embraced the Roman Catholic doctrines of their errors, and amongst others two inferior officers. The Popish catechists attempted in vain to regain them to their church. In a discussion upon religion, Rajanaiken supported his sentiments by such forcible appeals to the holy Scriptures, that his adversaries were unable to reply to them. He then, together with his two friends, determined on quitting the military service, and, though at the sacrifice of his worldly interest, embraced that of the mission. The Roman Catholic priests became, in consequence, more bitter than ever in their persecution of the Protestant converts, circulated the most calumnious accusations against Luther and the reformed doctrine, and even excited their followers to various acts of personal violence against Rajanaiken and his family. Their opposition, however, not only failed in checking the progress of the mission, but even tended to promote its success. Numbers both of Pagans and Mahomedans, as well as Roman Catholic Christians, resorted to Tranquebar for instruction; the access to the kingdom of Tanjore, which had been closed against Ziegenbalg, was effectually opened, and a journey shortly afterwards undertaken by Mr. Pressier into that country was attended by the happiest effects. At the same time, Mr. Schultz and Messrs. Walther and Bosse

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preached with success along the coast of Coromandel.

In the course of the following year died Malejappen, the schoolmaster who had accompanied Ziegenbalg to Europe. He was an excellent translator, and much attached to the interests of the mission. Several other natives, who died about the same period, gave the most satisfactory evidences of their faith in the gospel.

The progress of the missions, both at Tranquebar and Madras, now requiring additional help, two new missionaries, Messrs. Worm and Reichsteig, were appointed to the former, and a third, Mr. Sartorius, was taken under the immediate patronage of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, for the service of the latter station. They arrived at Madras in August, 1730, and were received by Mr. Schultz with cordial delight and joy. Messrs. Worm and Reichsteig, after a stay of three weeks, pursued their journey to Tranquebar: Mr. Sartorius remained at Madras, and applied with such diligence to the study both of the Portuguese and Tamul, that he soon acquired a facility in speaking those languages, and was able to converse with the natives of the neighbouring villages.

The Madras mission, which had been supported by the late governor, Macrae, was equally favoured by the protection of his successor, Mr. Pitt; and, towards the end of the year 1731, Mr. Schultz received a most encouraging letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by a present

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of four hundred and twenty pagodas, which enabled him to repay a sum he had borrowed, and to establish a second school for native children. In acknowledging this liberal donation, Schultz took occasion to solicit of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge still further assistance in the work of the mission. Mr. John Ernest Giesler, of Halle, was in consequence recommended to the Society, and together with Mr. Cnoll, who was appointed to act as physician to the mission, embarked at Deal in July, 1732, and safely reached Madras.

Thus strengthened, the missionaries at that presidency proceeded with fresh vigour in their various labours, and the blessing of God evidently accompanied them. Amongst others, in conjunction with their brethren at Tranquebar, they visited Mr. Engelbert, the chaplain at Negapatam, and assisted him in his zealous endeavours to promote Christianity in the Dutch settlements on that coast. In these attempts Mr. Worm was particularly distinguished by the ability with which he conversed with the natives, convinced them of their errors, and conciliated their confidence, and in many instances he was successful in persuading them to embrace the gospel.[1]

The missionaries having long derived essential assistance from the labours of the native catechists, and the numbers of converts in the neighbouring districts being now very considerable, deemed it highly expedient to provide for the discharge of

[1] Niecamp, vol. iii. p. 33—35

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the higher functions of the ministry by one of their own countrymen. For this important purpose they selected one of the catechists named Aaron, a man of respectable family, who had been baptized by Ziegenbalg, and who had for many years been distinguished both by his personal piety and by his talents and usefulness as a teacher. At the close of the year 1733, the missionaries from Madras united with their brethren at Tranquebar and the chaplains of the Danish factory, in ordaining him to the work of the ministry, according to the rites of the Lutheran church. He was at this time about thirty-five years of age, and his long white pastoral robe, like that of the Syrian clergy, corresponded with the mild and amiable character of his appearance and manner. The mother and sister of Aaron had also embraced Christianity. The duty of the new minister was to preach and administer the sacraments alternately in a district of Tanjore, comprising several congregations of Christians; and such was the success with which he laboured, that in the course of the following year he had been the instrument of converting no less than fifty of his countrymen to the faith of the gospel. The services of the catechists, particularly of Rajanaiken, had been at the same time eminently beneficial.

The translation of the Bible into the Hindostanee language, which had been completed in 1732 by the learning and diligence of Mr. Schultz, though not printed till some years afterwards, was a work from

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which the missionaries anticipated much advantage in their labours in that quarter.

Mr. Sartorius having, in his late journey to Tranquebar, spent some days at Fort St. David, the governor expressed his readiness to assist in forming a mission in that neighbourhood. On communicating this intelligence to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Schultz was directed in the next despatch to take measures for that purpose. That zealous missionary having at the same time reported the want of adequate accommodation for preaching the Word of God in the only house then occupied by the mission at Madras, the Society immediately obtained the consent of the Court of Directors to build a church and two schools at that presidency, under the superintendence of the governor of Fort St. George and the agents of the Society. Instructions were accordingly sent to their correspondents to commence those buildings, in the hope that though their present remittances would not be sufficient for so considerable a work, the providence of God would enable them to complete it the following year.[1]

The attention of the missionaries at Tranquebar was in the year 1735 directed to the practicability of extending their christian labours to Bengal, and they had written to request the assistance of their friends in England in carrying this design into execution, and had received their cordial acqui-

[1] Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

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escence, when it was painfully interrupted by the premature loss of two of their number, Messrs. Reichsteig and Worm. These excellent men had been companions on the voyage to India, and had during nearly five years been zealous and indefatigable in the discharge of the laborious and self-denying duties of the mission. They died at Tranquebar within three weeks of each other, leaving a very powerful testimony to the truth and value of the principles and promises of the gospel. Mr. Worm, who had been a pupil of the celebrated Buddæus, professor of divinity at Jena, was a man of superior talents and acquirements, and admirably qualified to promote the cause of Christianity in India. His loss was therefore severely felt by his colleagues; but amidst the regret of being thus early called from the service of his Lord upon earth, and of being separated from an affectionate wife and an infant daughter, he expressed in striking terms the peace which he enjoyed, and his lively hope of future happiness. His widow and child, however, survived him only a few weeks.[1]

Among the literary labours of the missionaries at this period, besides the printing of the Portuguese Bible, were a grammar in Tamul and German, and a History of the Church, composed by Mr. Walther in Tamul, and printed in 1735. The latter work was occasioned by a request of the catechist Rajanaiken to be informed as to the origin and progress of the errors of the Church of Rome, in order that

[1] Niecamp, vol. iii. p. 124.

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he might be better prepared to reply to the objections, and to refute the false opinions of the Roman Catholics. This ecclesiastical history, which overturned the pretended antiquity of the Romish tenets, and which was extremely useful to the country catechists, was particularly designed for the instruction of the pupils of the seminary, who were to be educated as catechists and schoolmasters. About the same time, Mr. Sartorius completed the Tamul Dictionary which had been commenced by Ziegenbalg.

The presents sent to the missionaries at Tranquebar and Madras, from the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, amounted, in the year 1736, to no less a sum than £1,500, and in the following year, to £1,700 sterling; while the collections in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, on several occasions, exceeded three thousand crowns. The zeal and liberality of professor Francke, of Halle, in promoting these subscriptions, are frequently mentioned in their reports.

The mission which the governor of Fort St. George had promised to support, was in the year 1737 established by Messrs. Sartorius and Giesler, at the neighbouring town of Cuddalore. The missionaries had often preached there; and though at first the native inhabitants were indisposed to hear them, great numbers were in process of time persuaded to embrace the gospel. This branch, however, of the Madras mission did not long enjoy the benefit of Mr. Sartorius' labours. That active and

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valuable missionary died the next year, and was buried at Cuddalore; all the English gentlemen there attending his funeral. His loss was particularly felt, on account of his remarkable skill in the Tamul language; the most learned natives acknowledging that he spoke it like a brahmin. The death of Mr. Sartorius was followed by that of Mr. Pressier at Tranquebar, after twelve years of faithful and effective service in that mission. The loss, however, of these pious men was happily repaired by the arrival of three new missionaries, viz. Mr. Wiedebrœck, and Messrs. Obuch and Kolkoff, who had studied for some years at Halle. The mission was farther strengthened, by the embarkation, in the year 1739, of Mr. Kiernander, who had been a teacher in the Orphan House, and was recommended by Professor Francke to succeed Mr. Sartorius in the mission at Cuddalore. He was accompanied by Messrs. Fabricius and Zegler, from the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen, whose immediate destination was to Tranquebar. By the ship in which these missionaries sailed, thirteen chests, valued at £1,500, including, besides books and printing and other paper, foreign silver for the use of the mission, were sent, as usual, free of freight, by the kindness of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

In the year 1740, Mr. Schultz, in addition to the preparation of some native youths for the service of the mission as catechists and schoolmasters, accomplished the important point of commencing a Tamul school for the children of heathen parents, under a

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christian schoolmaster. He began with eight boys, sons of merchants and tradesmen at Cuddalore, and indulged the hope that this measure would not only lead to a more intimate acquaintance with the inhabitants, but, by the blessing of God, tend to the introduction of Christianity among the natives. In this year the missionaries and catechists at Tranquebar were remarkably favoured by the numbers added to their congregations. They also nearly completed their new school buildings, while at Cuddalore the mission under the care of Mr. Giesler was gradually prospering.

With the approbation of the Mission College at Copenhagen, they, at the close of the year, ordained the catechist Diego, who had long been most diligently and faithfully engaged in that humble but useful employment, to assist the native preacher, Aaron, who was now become infirm, and unable to perform his ministerial duties to a large congegation.[1]

The general cause of the mission sustained a great loss, in the year 1742, by the return to Europe of Mr. Schultz, in consequence of ill health, after more than twenty-years' residence in India. By this event the mission at Madras was deprived of a labourer of great learning, piety, and zeal, whose services from its establishment had been peculiarly valuable, and who marked his own attachment to its interests by generously presenting the house in which he resided for the use of the mission. His place was immediately supplied by Mr. Fabricius, who entered upon the

[1] Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

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arduous duties of that station with that deep humility and dependence on the providence and grace of God, which formed the best security for the success of his labours.

The enlargement of their missions had now for some time pressed heavily on the funds of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; and they even began to fear that they should not be able to meet its increasing expenditure. They were, however, encouraged by "a most friendly and christian letter from professor Francke, full of goodwill towards the missions at Madras and Cuddalore," and remitting £250 towards their support. Animated by this seasonable aid, they requested that excellent man to provide two additional missionaries for those stations, trusting, as they piously declared,[1] "that the same wise and good providence of God which had hitherto blessed them in all their undertakings to spread the pure gospel of his Son Christ Jesus in all parts of the world, would raise up benefactors to contribute whatever might be wanted towards it." Accordingly, in the following year, professor Francke sent out, at his own charge, the Rev. Messrs. Breithaupt and Klein to Tranquebar; and out of his affectionate regard to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, he remitted a further sum of £300 towards the support of the two missions at Madras and Cuddalore. Two years afterwards, the same liberal and zealous benefactor sent an additional donation of £200: on which occasion the Society expressed its earnest

[1] Reports of the Society.

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wishes for the general diffusion of the truly christian spirit which animated that distinguished friend to the cause of missions.

The annual reports of the Society at this period contain many gratifying statements of the successful labours of the missionaries. The two native preachers, Aaron and Diego, in their travels through the villages of the district which had been assigned to them, were eminently useful; and so numerous were their converts in some of them, that it became necessary, according to the custom of the country, to appoint a christian warden, or superintendent over them. The former of these pious men finished his course in June 1745, after eleven years of diligent service as an itinerant pastor and teacher, having, during that period, been the means of converting many hundred souls. His end appears to have been hastened by his journeyings and fatigues; and such was his amiable character, and his holy and exemplary conduct, that he was almost equally lamented by the missionaries and by his native countrymen.

The death of Mr. Obuch, one of the missionaries at Tranquebar, followed shortly after that of the pastor Aaron. He was, according to the testimony of his colleagues, a most faithful and affectionate brother, conscientious in the discharge of his duty, and persevering in it even to the disregard of life, so that he might fulfil the ministry which he had received, and finish his course with joy.

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The war between France and England, which commenced in 1744, having extended to India, in September 1746 a French fleet appeared off Madras; and having landed a body of troops, after a bombardment of five days, Fort St. George was compelled to capitulate. The French commander at first promised to protect the mission; but soon afterwards, having ordered a great part of the Black or native Town to be levelled with the ground, for the purpose of improving the defence of Madras, the Mission House was destroyed, and the church converted into a magazine. Upon this unexpected calamity, Mr. Fabricius retired with the children of the mission school to Pulicat, a Dutch settlement in the neighbourhood, where the governor gave them a kind and hospitable reception. Here, with the assistance of a catechist and two schoolmasters, he took charge not only of the Christians who were with him, but of the converts near Madras, constantly visiting the villages around him to disseminate the principles of the gospel. On the restoration of peace in 1748, Mr. Fabricius returned to Madras, and, through the good offices of Admiral Boscawen, the English mission, after some delay, obtained possession of a spacious church at Vepery near the town, with the houses and gardens attached to it, which had belonged to the Roman Catholic missionaries, but from which they had been expelled, on account of their treasonable communications with the French during the war. It is due to the memory of Mr. Fabricius to notice his zeal and

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charity during this critical period, in abating nearly one third of his salary, and living himself in the simplest manner, carrying the fruits of his self-denying economy to the account of the mission fund. The Romish church at Cuddalore was at the same time transferred by the governor of Fort St. David to Mr. Kiernander, by the name of Christ's Church, for the use of the missionaries of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and as a place of public worship for the increase of the Protestant religion.

Having thus reviewed the origin and progress of the missions at Tranquebar and Madras, up to the year in which the venerable subject of the following Memoirs embarked for India, a brief recapitulation of the actual state of the missions at that period, and of the success which had attended their various labours, may properly close this preliminary sketch.

It appears by the returns regularly made to the Mission College at Copenhagen, and to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, that from the arrival of Ziegenbalg in 1706 to the year 1750, the numbers of the converts at Tranquebar, and in the towns and villages of the neighbouring districts, to which the missionaries and their catechists and teachers had access, amounted to nearly eight thousand; and that from the year 1728 to the same period, the converts at Madras and Cuddalore, and along the coast of Coromandel, might be estimated

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at more than one thousand. Of these a very small proportion were proselytes from the Roman Catholic faith; though such is the general ignorance of the converts from heathenism by the missionaries of that church, that, with the exception of a few unmeaning forms, they could scarcely be considered as differing from their pagan countrymen. A few instances occurred of conversion from the Mahomedans, but their well-known prejudice and bigotry rendered these extremely rare. The great majority of the Protestant converts were native Hindoos or their children, chiefly, as might be expected, though by no means exclusively, even at that period, of the lower castes of the inhabitants.

It is not intended to be asserted that all these converts were well-informed and consistent Christians; but one of the principal features in the history of these Protestant missions is, the unwearied diligence and the scrupulous care and conscientious fidelity, with which the missionaries and other teachers laboured to prepare their catechumens for baptism, and to instruct their congregations in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, and the primitive discipline which they exercised over them. Their periodical reports afford many unquestionable proofs and most interesting memorials of the faith and piety of their converts, many examples of christian virtue, and many instances of opposition and persecution, "for righteousness sake," sustained with a stedfastness, meekness, and patience, well worthy of the purest ages of the church, the genuine-

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ness and authenticity of which cannot fairly be doubted. Many a deathbed scene also is recorded in these reports,[1] in which the dying Hindoo, and not unfrequently the *female* convert, expressed, with intelligence, humility, and ardent gratitude, the heartfelt penitence, the holy dispositions, and the heavenly hopes of the true Christian. Even where the instructions and exhortations of the missionaries failed of producing any effectual change of religious profession, there was often a strong conviction on the native mind of the folly of idolatry, and the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation; and a very general impression was evident in its favour from the unwearied and disinterested labours, and the holy and exemplary lives of the christian teachers. Nor was this all. The dispersion of the various translations of the holy Scriptures, and the distribution of numerous tracts and treatises, printed at the Tranquebar press, tended to disseminate christian knowledge and christian principles far beyond the narrow limits of the Protestant missions and their immediate vicinity, and to prepare the way for that more extensive diffusion of the gospel in India, which we have happily lived to witness.

It was under a deep sense of the important effects already produced by these establishments, that the

[1] Upon all these points the original acts of the Danish mission in German, or the admirable abridgment of them by Niecamp, either in Latin in two volumes quarto, or in the French translation of M. Gaudard, with a preface by Professor Francke, may be advantageously consulted.

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Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, when recording the grants from the governors of Madras and Fort St. David, of the Roman Catholic churches at Vepery and Cuddalore, added its anxious expectation that the directors of the East India Company would be disposed voluntarily to take the Protestant missions under their more immediate protection and favour, and to show some special marks of encouragement to that zeal and fidelity which the missionaries had manifested, not only for the Protestant religion, but likewise for the interest and service of the Company, particularly during the late war; concluding with an earnest hope, that all of this church and nation would enlarge their contributions to this fund, till it became sufficient to maintain such a number of missionaries and schools as might, by the grace of God, once more spread throughout the East the gospel of Christ in its original simplicity and purity, reformed from all the corruptions and abominations of popery.

These pious aspirations were, indeed, but faintly echoed by the feelings of the nation at large. Something may, doubtless, be attributed to the imperfect dissemination, at that period, of religious information, and still more to the little interest excited in behalf of the inhabitants of a country so distant, and comparatively so unknown, as India, at a time when the English possessions consisted of but little beyond a few commercial factories on its coasts. The Society, however, laudably persevered in its zealous endeavours to promote Christianity in the East; and

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in the eminent missionary, whose elevated character and important labours are to be developed in the following pages, the providence of God raised up an instrument admirably qualified to carry on its benevolent designs, during the eventful period in which Great Britain was pursuing her triumphant career towards the vast empire which she now possesses in Oriental India.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE REV. C. F. SWARTZ.

CHAPTER I.

Early life and education of Swartz—His removal to Halle—Proposal to go out as a Danish missionary to Tranquebar—He obtains the consent of his father—His Ordination—Departure for England, and kind reception by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—He embarks for India—Account of his voyage—He arrives at Tranquebar—First occupations at the Mission.

THOUGH the honour of originating the first Protestant mission to India belongs, as we have seen, to Denmark, it is remarkable that, from its commencement, the majority of those who have been engaged in its service, have been natives of Germany. Of this number was the distinguished subject of these Memoirs.

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Christian Frederick Schwartz[1] was born at Sonnenburg, a small town in the Electorate of Brandenburgh, now the kingdom of Prussia, on the 8th of October, 1726. His father's name was George, and his station in life appears to have been respectable. The family name of his mother was Gruner. This pious woman died during his infancy; but on her death-bed, she in the most solemn manner informed her husband and the pastor who attended her, that she had dedicated her son to the Lord, and obtained a promise from them both, that he should be trained up in the remembrance of this sacred destination; and that if he should in due time express a desire to be educated for the ministry, they would cherish and promote it to the utmost of their power.

At the age of eight years young Swartz was sent to the principal grammar school at Sonnenburg, where, together with the elements of classical learning, he received many good impressions from the moral and religious instructions of its rector, Mr. Helm. This excellent person particularly enforced upon his pupils the importance of private devotion, and encouraged them to offer up their petitions in language suggested by their own feelings. Swartz

[1] This, it is scarcely necessary to observe, is the correct orthography of his name, and that which he used in the earlier period of his life; but as, during the greater part of it, he invariably adopted, both in corresponding with his friends, and in public documents, the simpler form of *Swartz*, probably from its more easy pronunciation, and is by this generally known, he will be thus designated in the following Memoirs.

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afterwards declared,[1] that even at that early age he used frequently to retire from his youthful companions into solitude, and there pour out his heart before God; that he found this practice highly beneficial, and that when conscious especially of having acted wrong, he could never regain tranquillity of mind, until he had earnestly implored the divine forgiveness.

On the removal of Mr. Helm by his entrance on ministerial duty, his successor neglected the religious improvement of his scholars, and Swartz became comparatively indifferent. He was about this time confirmed according to the rites of the Lutheran church; but the clergyman who examined him, was too easily satisfied with the mere verbal replies of the catechumens to his questions on the catechism, without impressing upon them the necessity of giving up the heart to God. Hence, though on partaking, for the first time, of the holy communion, Swartz was considerably affected, these pious emotions, for want of being suitably cherished, quickly subsided.

Having now acquired as much knowledge of Latin and Greek as the school of his native place could afford him, together with the rudiments of Hebrew, he was sent to an academy at the neighbouring town of Custrin, to pursue his studies, and

[1] In Dr. Knapp's and other biographical sketches, it is said that Swartz made this declaration in a memoir written by himself; but it is well known that he never wrote or published anything of this kind. It was probably, therefore, in some letter to a friend that this circumstance was mentioned.

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to be qualified for the university. His father, who was evidently a man of sense and piety, had always accustomed him to much simplicity and self-denial. He walked with him to Custrin, where he consigned him to the care of his new master, and, unlike the parents of two of his young friends from the same town, allowed him no more money than was required for his necessary expenses. Here, by associating with some thoughtless companions, his heart became still less under the influence of religion, though he endeavoured to preserve a correct deportment. Occasionally, his good impressions were revived by the animated discourses of the Rev. Mr. Stegmann, one of the parochial ministers of Custrin; but he imagined that it was not possible for him, while he remained there, to lead a religious life, having no just conception at that time of the nature of genuine piety, and not perceiving the necessity of divine strength to enable him to persevere in a christian course. While at this place, happily for his future improvement, he became acquainted with one of the Syndics, who had formerly been a student at Halle, and who retained great respect for the professors of that university. The daughter of this gentleman, who appears to have taken a lively interest in the young scholar, endeavoured to point out to him his previous errors, and to convince him of the importance of greater decision of character. She lent him several books, among which was the remarkable narrative of the rise and

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progress of the Orphan House at Glaucha, near Halle, entitled, "Demonstrations of the Footsteps of a Divine Being yet in the World," by the celebrated Augustus Hermann Francke. This extraordinary work made a deep impression upon his mind. It first inspired him with a wish to visit Halle, and proved, in fact, the turning point of his future destination. When reviewing, however, this period of his life, Swartz afterwards observed that he was diligent in study, but chiefly from worldly motives; and that twice, in seasons of dangerous illness, he had resolved to devote himself entirely to God, but that he soon forgot his good resolutions.

On his return from Custrin, well prepared by his progress in learning for the university, and having exhibited in his general conduct a striking contrast to that of his two companions from Sonnenburg, his father, referring to the strict economy which he had exercised with respect to his expenses, thus addressed him: "My dear Frederick, you may, perhaps, have sometimes repined on comparing your homely food and clothing with that of others: and possibly you may have thought that your father did not love you so much as the parents of some of your friends; but I trust that your own good sense, and the painful example of their failure, will have led you to perceive my reasons for inuring you to hardships, and never encouraging you in self-indulgence. I may now justly hope that in whatever situation it may please God to place you, you will be qualified to sustain it:"—a sentiment which was virtually

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prophetic of his future arduous and self-denying career.

In the year 1746 Swartz proceeded to Halle, with a view of attending the Grammar School of the Orphan House; but his distinguished countryman, Schultz, who, as we have seen, had returned from the Madras mission three years before, and was then residing at Halle, advised him to enter the university at once, as he had attained his twentieth year, and was already sufficiently grounded in elementary knowledge. He accordingly followed this advice, and diligently attended the lectures of the professors Baumgarten, Michaelis, Knapp, and Freylinghausen, boarding and lodging in the mean time at the Orphan House. While pursuing his studies there, he was chosen to be preceptor to the Latin classes, and to assist in the evening assemblies for prayer appointed by the venerable founder to be held with the attendants and servants of the institution. These pious employments were highly beneficial to him; and, together with the instructions which he received at the devotional meetings under the direction of the Rev. G. F. Weiss, Inspector of the German School, and his intercourse with the learned and pious Professor Francke, confirmed him in the determination of devoting himself to God, and established him in that truly christian course, the excellence of which his subsequent life so strikingly displayed.

It was at this time in contemplation to print a new edition of the Bible, in Tamul, at Halle, under the superintendence of the late missionary Schultz, who

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was also carrying through the press a devotional tract, which he had translated into the same language, for the purpose of distribution in India. In connexion with another of the students, Swartz was recommended to acquire some knowledge of Tamul, in order to qualify him to assist in correcting the printing of these works; but though the intended edition of the Bible was not eventually carried into execution, this study occupied him for several months, and probably first directed his mind towards the sphere of his future labours. While thus engaged, Professor Francke, who was making inquiries for new missionaries to India, proposed to Swartz to engage in this solemn and important work; and though the idea of such an employment was altogether new to him, he determined, if he could obtain his father's approbation, to accept the call.

For this purpose he made a journey to his native place. But here everything seemed unfavourable; for, being the eldest son, he was considered the chief prop of the family, and no member of it would believe that his father could be brought to consent to such a project. Swartz, however, stated his wishes, together with the motives that influenced him, with great seriousness and solemnity, to his father; who, instead of putting an immediate negative upon the proposal, as had been expected, replied, that he would take two or three days to consider of it, and fixed a time for declaring his determination. The important day arrived, and the family waited with divided anxiety for the decision; the young candi-

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date for this arduous undertaking afraid of a refusal, the rest equally fearing a consent. At length, his father came down from his chamber, gave him his blessing, and bade him depart in God's name: charging him to forget his native country and his father's house, and to go and win many souls to Christ.

Having thus obtained his dismission, he hastened his departure; and, generously resigning his patrimony to his brothers and sisters, he returned to Halle. A few days afterwards, an advantageous offer was made to him of entering upon the ministry at home; but he felt that the die was cast, and that having deliberately put his hand to the plough, it did not become him to look back. How manifestly this determination originated in the superintending providence of God, and was crowned with his blessing, the subsequent history of this eminent missionary abundantly proved.

On the 8th of August, 1749, Swartz set out for Copenhagen, for the purpose of receiving holy orders, accompanied by two other new missionaries to India, Messrs. Poltzenhagen and Hutteman. They reached that city on the 23rd, were examined on the 6th of September by Dr. Hersleb, Bishop of Zealand and Primate of Denmark, and ordained to the sacred ministry by Bishop Horreboa; and on the 9th they left Copenhagen on their return to Halle.

Every necessary preparation having been made for their intended voyage, the three missionaries took leave of their pious and excellent friends in that university; and it being intended that they should

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proceed to India by way of England, they repaired to Helvoetsluys, where they embarked, and reached Harwich on the 6th of December; the next day they pursued their journey to Colchester, and on the 8th arrived in London. There they remained six weeks, during which time they were diligently employed in learning the English language, and in preparing for their important destination. Though they were not formally presented at any public meeting of the board, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge most kindly received and provided for them during their stay in this country. The following extracts translated from two letters of Swartz in German, to the Rev. Dr. Francke, contain some interesting particulars of their feelings and occupations from the time of their departure from Halle. The commencement of the first is very characteristic of his mind, and is dated from Kensington, 18th of December, 1749.

" God hath ordered all things well on the voyage. Our hearts (more especially mine) were very cheerful during the storming and raging of the sea; and I have frequently reminded myself of the 46th psalm with great joy. Praised be God! This ought to be the beginning, middle, and end of my letter. If God maketh this only to resound in our hearts, that he, Jehovah, our sun and shield, is with us, we can then not only be tranquil, but cheerful.

" Our occupations here have been of singular use, and a great refreshment to us. In every difficulty we could have recourse to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen,

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the venerable chaplain of his Majesty, who has behaved to us with paternal kindness, and has given us such plain directions as we, like inexperienced children, stood in need of. This was our daily occupation, to take lessons and receive instruction. Then we had also to preach a few sermons: I twice, namely, once in the royal chapel on the first day of the Nativity, and afterwards for the Rev. Mr. Pittius at the Savoy; Mr. Poltzenhagen four times, and Mr. Hutteman three. May God bless what has been spoken in great weakness!"

The directors of the East India Company having, at the request of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, kindly granted the three missionaries a free passage on board the Lynn, Captain Egerton, they proceeded to Deal to embark in that ship. The second letter referred to is dated from that port, January 24th, 1750, in which Swartz thus writes.

"The 10th of January, according to the old style, which is yet used here, or the 21st according to the new, was the day on which we left Kensington, where God bestowed so much grace upon us. On the preceding evening we were from seven till ten with his Majesty's chaplain, who said many things to the awakening of our hearts. He gave us the 121st Psalm for meditation on our voyage: 'I will lift up my eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.' Whatever could in any way contribute to our comfort and encouragement, that he did. On

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new year's day also he addressed us publicly from the pulpit from these words, 'Be not afraid, only believe.' (Mark v. 36.) At the same time he exhorted the congregation to pray for us. On the same evening he prayed again with us, commended us to the mercy of God, and gave us some copies of his lately published Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. He then dismissed us with the cordial admonition, not to allow our brotherly love to cool. May God write all that we have heard deeply in our hearts!

"Thus we departed on the 21st of January, N.S., in the name of Jesus, accompanied by that trusty German, Matthieson, who has conducted all the missionaries from Mr. Walther[1] until now. On the 23rd we arrived at Deal, in perfect health and spirits. Here we lodge in a house which is only a few paces from the shore, so that from our windows we see nothing but the sea. My heart is filled with cheerful confidence, being convinced that as God has taken us under his paternal care during our late travels, so will he likewise continue to be our Protector. If we will only cleave stedfastly to him, he will also most certainly be with us, and be our faithful God. And he will graciously hear the prayers with which we know so many of his children and servants accompany us. Now, therefore, we go forth in the name of the Lord, who hath called us to be his servants and messengers among the heathen; who will also guide and bring us to the destined place."

[1] In the year 1725.

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The next letter, which was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, announces his actual embarkation.

"From on board the Lynn, off the Isle of Wight, near Portsmouth, Feb. 1, 1750.

"There comes a ship to bring us provisions, by which I send you a few lines. On the 29th of January we left Deal. God hath given us a favourable wind, with which we have already sailed past Portsmouth. Praised be his name, we are all well. Our cabin is below that of the captain. We are alone, for which we have thankfully to acknowledge the goodness of God. We are as conveniently accommodated as can be expected on board ship. God be praised for it! The captain is a good, plain-dealing man, and the other passengers show us much kindness. We talk English as yet very badly, but they all encourage us to speak, and no one laughs at our blunders. Several of them know a little Latin, and use their utmost endeavours to explain to us whatever we do not understand. We return hearty thanks to God for having brought us to this ship. Hitherto he hath graciously preserved us, that no one has sustained any hurt, except that last night a sailor fell into the water; however, he was saved. The number of persons on board is about an hundred, and a few passengers. We pass our time in reading the holy Scriptures in the original languages, and other good books, and practise reading and writing English, according to your kind instruction. There are persons on board who go to India for pleasure. One of

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them goes for the fifth time, and says it is a very pleasant voyage. There are also many children on board who learn navigation. Now this I have written in haste. May Jesus bless you abundantly, and hear your prayers, and those of other children and servants of God for us! O, the Lord is faithful, and never yet forsook his people.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The ship did not, however, proceed on its voyage so quickly as was expected. On the 3rd of February, Swartz wrote to Mr. Ziegenhagen as follows:

"Filial love requires us to make use of this opportunity of informing you of our circumstances. When we last wrote to you, we were off the Isle of Wight, and had a most favourable wind; but we were obliged to lay to for more than half a day, before the things which the ship brought us from Deal were taken on board. Towards evening we sailed, and by Monday had come already close to the Bay of Biscay. In the morning the wind veered about, and the captain found himself compelled to return to some harbour. Here the motion of the ship was so violent, that I experienced something of the sea sickness, but only for a few minutes. That day, about four, we arrived off Falmouth. We were met by two pilots, and the captain engaged him who came first to the ship; but the other, on coming up, expressed his great dissatisfaction, not so much because he had not been engaged, as because the other

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had not conducted us aright. He disputed so long, that the first was obliged to go away. This morning we found that the man had just grounds for his displeasure. For when it was ebb tide, our ship had not sufficient water, but struck frequently against the ground with such a crash, as if a gun was fired. At the same time there was a great storm, so that we might have sustained much injury, if God had not preserved us. Now we praise him that we were forced to return; for in this storm we should have been in the greatest danger off the Spanish coast. Thus we daily perceive that his goodness preserves us. O that we might always look only to him, rest in his will, and filially resign ourselves to it! Our captain shows us great kindness. For the rest, I pray God daily, that he would purify my heart more and more from all dross, and by his Spirit fit me for the important office for which, unworthy as I am, he has, out of mere grace, ordained me. I rest assured that you also will daily beg this grace for myself, and my dear brethren.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The ship was detained at Falmouth by contrary winds rather more than a month; but this delay was amply compensated by its escape from the storms which, as it afterwards appeared, some others had encountered; in noticing which circumstance, many years afterwards, one of the brethren at Tranquebar took occasion to observe, that during the century which had elapsed since the commencement of the

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Danish mission, and in the course of which about fifty missionaries had sailed to India, no vessel which contained any one of them had perished.

In the following letter, addressed to Professor Francke, Swartz, with a fervour and simplicity of expression peculiar to the German language, gives a detailed account of the continuance of their voyage, and of their safe arrival in India. It is dated from Tranquebar, October 8, 1750.

"We can now joyfully relate how graciously God hath heard your supplications to his goodness for us. With undeserved grace and mercy he hath brought us, hath graciously averted all perils on our long voyage, mightily refreshed us during the course of it both in soul and body, and caused us to reach the end of it speedily and happily, in four months and four days. We could scarcely have imagined, that he would so paternally and graciously guide us. His name be humbly praised and glorified now and in eternity!

"In order to give you, reverend sir, a somewhat detailed account of this gracious guidance of our God, that you may magnify his name with us, I shall briefly relate the most important particulars from our diary, not having yet found time to copy the diary itself, which your Reverence will kindly excuse.

"How God conducted us into Falmouth harbour, and what we there noticed to his praise, you will have observed from the short letter which we wrote on the day of our departure. On the 12th of March,

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1750, God gave us a good wind, and everything was prepared for sailing. But the tide being then at ebb, we were obliged to wait till the evening, as we could not otherwise get safely out of the harbour. In the afternoon, an inhabitant of the town came on board, who had been powerfully awakened by Mr. Whitefield. This man related to us many things, particularly of the minister of Falmouth—how zealous he was in the discharge of his duty. We regretted that we had not visited him; and as the stranger intimated that he would salute him from us, we sent the minister Professor Zimmerman's Treatise on the Excellency of the Knowledge of Christ, translated into Latin, in which we wrote a few lines.

"About seven in the evening we sailed, in the name of God, out of the harbour, with a man of war, which we thought was to escort us; but the next day we learned that she was to escort the Norfolk. With this divine dispensation we were well satisfied, believing that we should not need that convoy, if we could only say with David, (Ps. xlvi. 7,) 'The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge.' If the Lord be for us, who or what can be against us? We met a Dutch ship, from Smyrna to Rotterdam, the captain of which informed us, that he had suffered much from the late severe storms, whilst we were quietly in the harbour. On the 16th, we were met by two ships, which exhibited a sad spectacle. One of them had sprung a large leak, and drew several feet of water, so that she lay very deep, and rolled from side to side. Our captain backed the

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sails, and sent the carpenter, with an officer, and some others, to see whether they could assist; but on their return, they declared that the vessel must sink. The other ship, therefore, kept quite close to the damaged one, that the people might save themselves.

" On the 21st of March, I had a fever, which continued till the 10th of April. As I fell away so much, the doctor was alarmed; but God helped me graciously, and soon restored to me my bodily strength. I must also confess, to his praise, that this sickness has been of great service to me. On the 22nd of March, we had, for the first time, divine service on board our ship, which afforded us great pleasure. On the 29th, we passed the tropic of Cancer; and on the 18th of April, we crossed the line, for the first time. There was great joy on board, that we had not been detained longer. On the 22nd, we were in the height of Ascension. The 30th, God visibly preserved a youth from death, who had entered on board to learn navigation. A thick cable fell down from above, exactly on the spot where he was standing; but before it reached him, he perceived it, and narrowly escaped. Towards evening, a ship was seen. We rejoiced at first, hoping for an opportunity of sending letters; but our joy had nearly been changed to fear, as our people began to think they might be enemies, and made preparations for defence. Early the next morning we looked out for her, but in vain. On the 5th of May, we passed the tropic of Capricorn, and thus left the torrid zone.

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As soon as the trade wind ceased, we were favoured with a delightful breeze from E. N. E. If we attend to the different changes of winds, we may observe agreeable traces of the admirable wisdom of God. On the 7th, we saw a French vessel, and, on our captain firing a signal gun, to desire them to wait, they did so, and we came up with her towards evening. The captains conversed with each other on their observations, and ours agreed pretty well with theirs. It was a great advantage that we could observe so well in our ship; for even in hazy weather, the sun appeared a little about noon. The chief mate requested us to communicate the observations contained in our diaries, particularly with regard to the variation of the compass. We did so, and he gratefully acknowledged it, by giving us a fine large Cheshire cheese.[1] The 11th of May we had a very high wind, and the next day a calm. While we spoke of it in the evening, and sighed to God that he would have pity on us, as before, suddenly there arose a very favourable breeze. Thus God fulfilled to us what he has promised—'Before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear.' So that we could praise God with joyful hearts. On the 17th of May we celebrated the feast of Pentecost, and heartily besought God that, by his Spirit, whom Jesus has obtained, he would fit us for the important office to

[1] This is always an acceptable present in India, and was frequently among the gratuities sent out by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge to their missionaries.

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which he has called us. The 19th of May, our dear brother Hutteman was seized with alarming sickness; but God most graciously blessed the use of the medicines out of the travelling chest which you gave us, so that he was fully restored to us in a few days. On the 23rd we had an unusually brisk gale; the vessel inclined so much, that it shipped water, which we had not hitherto seen. However, it passed over without damage. On the 27th, we had a complete calm, so that the captain and the chief mate went out in a boat, to shoot birds; but in the following night arose a real storm, which, as it came unexpectedly, tore all the sails. When we came upon deck in the morning, they all hung in rags, and we had only one small sail hoisted. We did not, however, yield to anxious or desponding thoughts. So faithful is God! In need he refresheth, and comforteth abundantly. The 30th of May, we had very pleasant weather, which was a great relief after the storm. On the 31st, we saw a Dutch ship. We all wished that it might approach us, but were disappointed, as it passed us at a considerable distance; but in the afternoon our joy was the greater, as we got a sight of the Cape. The mountains presented themselves at a distance, like clouds; but as we came nearer, we could see them distinctly. We praised God heartily, the more so, as we had on this very day been powerfully impressed in meditating on the words, (1 Cor. xv. 58,) 'Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the

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Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.'

"From this time, we began to look out for India, and thought we had now left the worst behind. But on the 17th of June, in the night, we had a most furious storm, in which all declared we were in great danger. Even the next day it was frightful to behold, and it was much heightened by the heavy rain which accompanied the wind. Meanwhile, when the tempest was at the highest, we slept in peace and quiet: a gracious God had hidden the danger from us. On the 19th, there was a pretty strong breeze. A rope, with which a sail was belayed, happened to break, which caused the ship to heel a little, and all at once we lay on our side. The captain called out to the men at the helm to put the ship about; but they could not accomplish it. The vessel had inclined altogether to one side, and was, moreover, quite wet from the rain, so that the people fell as they attempted to walk on the deck. However, the storm at length subsided, and we sustained no material injury. In how many distresses hath not our gracious God covered us, as it were, with his wings! On the 30th of June, we passed the tropic of Capricorn a second time. Now we came again into a pleasant climate; hitherto we had sometimes very cold weather. The 4th of July the rope at the helm broke, and, as the wind happened to blow fresh, the ship fell into some disorder. On the 10th, we again crossed the line. The 13th was a most agreeable day: for we then came in

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sight of Ceylon. The chief mate discovered it about nine in the morning. The joy which this produced on board is hardly to be described, since the greater number scarcely expected that we should make it so directly. We said, 'This hath God done! O, how great is his goodness, and how graciously doth he hear our prayers! May the kindness which he hath showed us in this instance, serve to strengthen us in filial confidence!

"This day and the following, we enjoyed the delightful smell of cinnamon. At the same time, we had a most favourable wind, so that, during the day, we passed at a good distance by the rocks of Ceylon. On the 16th of July we were approaching the coast of Coromandel: every one, therefore, looked out eagerly for land; but the night drew on, and we could see none. About nine we found a bottom at fifteen fathoms; and it was remarkable that, as soon as it was found, the wind ceased. We therefore dropped the anchor. In the morning, when we looked out, we not only beheld the coast, but found ourselves right opposite to Cuddalore. We praised the name of the Lord for this paternal guidance: and whosoever delights in the traces of his gracious providence, will, on hearing it, exalt his name together.

"After we had cast anchor, the natives immediately came on board. The sight of these poor people, who sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, deeply affected our hearts; and we awakened ourselves cheerfully to work at their conversion, and to

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recommend to them the salvation of the gospel. Now, the Lord vouchsafe to give us wisdom, grace, and strength, to accomplish this purpose, since we are most unworthy to be unto them 'a savour of life unto life.' We informed the Rev. Mr. Kiernander[1] of our arrival, and he sent in the afternoon a country boat to fetch us. There we took our leave of the officers and passengers, who had showed us every kindness. They were much moved at parting, and wished us every blessing in our future ministry. May the Lord do good abundantly to them all! In the evening, dear Mr. Kiernander received us, and praised the name of the Lord for all the mercy he had shown us.

"I should now give an account of our occupations during the voyage. But as they were substantially the same as those of our predecessors, that is, preparing ourselves for our duty in the best manner we were able, I shall be brief. Every morning and evening, and frequently during the day, we stirred up ourselves by joint prayer and meditation on the holy Scriptures, by which God graciously refreshed us. Afterwards, each of us, apart, used either to meditate on some passage of Scripture, or read some other devotional book. From eleven to twelve, we practised reading English together, besides what each afterwards read for himself. The German Mission Accounts hitherto edited, five volumes and a half, we have partially perused. Mr. Niecamp's

[1] The Society's missionary at Cuddalore.—See Introductory Sketch p. 44.

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Abridgment, and the first volume, we have nearly read through. This occupation we have found to be of great advantage. We also kept a diary; but as in many places it is rather illegibly written, in consequence of the rolling of the vessel, and we do not wish to send it so, we shall by the first ships send one fair copy of it to your Reverence, and one to the Mission College.

"On the 24th of July, the Rev. Senior of the Danish missionaries, Mr. Wiedebrœck, came from Tranquebar to fetch us. He joined us in hearty praises to God for all his mercies. After having therefore visited several English gentlemen, we departed on the 28th from Cuddalore. Dear Mr. Kiernander accompanied us as far as the first river, and there took leave of us. On the 30th we arrived at Tranquebar in perfect health, and were most fraternally received by our dear brethren. Now hitherto the Lord hath helped us. To him be glory for ever and ever!

"Our present occupation can be described in a few words. At seven in the morning we begin, and practise Tamul almost the whole forenoon. Three days in every week Mr. Maderup comes to us at ten, and gives us a lesson in Portuguese. From two to three in the afternoon we again read Tamul. Afterwards every one remains alone till five. From five to six, I and dear brother Hutteman practise speaking Tamul. We have Christopher with us, who affords us wonderful help in that language, because he talks German fluently; and where we

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make mistakes, he corrects us. The Rev. Mr. Zeglin is holding at this time a preparation for baptism with some heathen, at which we also attend, as we begin already to understand a little. We perceive that God helps us on from day to day. Dear brother Poltzenhagen and I live together. We do not, however, provide for our diet, as Mr. Kohlhoff has taken us to his table. In the morning and evening we excite each other by joint prayer and reading the word of God.

"This is the principal intelligence which I can at present impart to your Reverence.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The providential escape of Swartz and his brethren from shipwreck, though not noticed in the preceding letter, crowned the mercies of their voyage. The vessel in which they sailed was lost in the river soon after their landing at Cuddalore.

Such was the diligence with which Swartz pursued the study of Tamul, that on the 23rd of November, that is, in less than four months after his arrival in India, he preached his first sermon in Ziegenbalg's Church, called New Jerusalem, from Matthew xi. 25—30. Having pointed out the invitation of Christ to all to come to him for the blessings of heavenly rest and peace, and observed that they could only be obtained in the order here prescribed by the Redeemer, he earnestly exhorted all who were present not to think lightly of this gracious offer; thus exhibiting, in his first address

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to the heathen, the very spirit of that gospel which he was commissioned to proclaim, and which he continued unceasingly to recommend and to exemplify during his long and honourable career as a missionary in India.

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CHAPTER II.

Swartz enters on the Duties of a Missionary—His account of these in a Letter to a Friend—Careful preparation of Candidates for Baptism—Excursions to the Towns and Villages near Tranquebar—Specimens of Swartz's Conversations with the Natives—Letter to Dr. Struensee—Periodical Reports of the Danish Mission—Pious Custom of the Missionaries on proceeding upon a Journey—Visit of Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz to Cuddalore—Pastoral and weekly Conferences with their Brethren there—Return to Tranquebar.

No sooner had Swartz attained some knowledge of the native language, than he entered vigorously upon the discharge of the various duties of the Mission. Early in the year 1751, he commenced a daily catechetical exercise with the youngest children of the Tamul school, which consisted not merely in questioning them, and receiving their answers, but in explaining the principles of Christianity, in the order prescribed by the catechism, in the simplest manner, and in familiar dialogues by examples taken from common life. He also catechised the children of the Portuguese school alternately with Mr. Poltzenhagen, and preached in that language alternately with him and Mr. Maderup, another missionary, who had the superintendence of the Portuguese congregation. In addition to these stated occupations, Swartz held

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in this year two preparations for baptism with natives, and afterwards baptized many of the candidates. These, with other interesting particulars, are related with great simplicity and piety in his second letter from India, dated Sept. 28, 1751, and addressed to a clergyman at Halle, of which the following is an extract.

" The manifold kindness which you showed me in my university years, induces me to address a letter to you from this country; the more so, as it was you who first gave me a hint that I should, perhaps, be asked to go to India. When I think of this, and of the first distant preparations made by the divine providence, I praise and humbly thank the only wise God. It is also a sweet comfort to my heart, that I am enabled to say, ' It is thou, O my God, who hast conducted me to these parts; I have not run hither of my own accord, but would rather have declined the call, if thy unseen hand had not retained me. O therefore help, and bestow upon me all necessary wisdom, grace, and strength for this office!

" My gracious God has already manifested so many proofs of his paternal love towards me, that I cannot but remember the word of the Lord Jesus, which he spake to upright Nathanael, (John i. 50,) ' Thou shalt see greater things than these.' May the Lord give me grace, that, like Nathanael, I may use the proofs of divine goodness and mercy which I have hitherto experienced, as a solid foundation and confirmation of my faith. If henceforth I

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do not behold the glory of God, then verily unbelief will be the cause of it. At Nazareth, my Saviour did not many mighty works, because of their unbelief. Now, Lord, grant faith, and *that* lively faith!

"But that you may know this from more special circumstances, and adore the name of the Lord with me, I shall mention some particulars. First, I humbly praise God that, during the year I have been here, he, notwithstanding all my imperfections, hath borne with me with great patience and forbearance, hath been daily nigh unto my soul, and hath kindly refreshed me. If I have not had the same enjoyments daily, the fault was on my own side. Now this goodness, long-suffering, and patience of our Lord, I shall account my salvation, according to St. Peter's exhortation.

"As to external things, God has given me life and health, and has made the climate and the heat supportable; so that, though my breathing was sometimes oppressive, yet I have not been induced to complain. Praised be his name also for this gracious help! Whoever always reposes in the good and holy will of God, saves himself much trouble, and makes that supportable which an impatient and unsubdued self-will renders intolerable. May the Lord subdue this self-will more and more by the power of the cross of Christ!

"Concerning the language of this country, I frequently thought during the voyage—'Behold, at Halle I learned Tamul three months, and I

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made but little progress; how much time will be required to learn that language, even though it be only so much as to be able to express myself intelligibly!' But God has graciously removed this difficulty, which appeared to me so great; for after we had once preached, it became more and more easy.

"Soon after the commencement of the new year, I began a catechetical hour in the Tamul, or Malabar School, with the youngest lambs; and thus I learned to stammer with them. At the same time, I made almost daily excursions, and spoke with Christians and heathens, though, as may be easily conceived, poorly and falteringly. However, God helped me on from day to day.

"After I had thus practised reading and speaking for nine months, I began the first preparation on the 26th of May, 1751, and finished it on the 2nd of July, when I baptised most of the converts. Each of my brethren was occupied with preparing a small number for holy baptism. When, therefore, ten days afterwards, another party came, I began the second preparation on the 12th of July, and ended it in six weeks. With these souls I hope the Lord has not permitted me to labour in vain. How they now conduct themselves, I cannot say, as the far greater part of them were from the country.

"The increase this year is very pleasing, consisting of four hundred in the Tamul congregation, including a hundred and fifty-nine children, partly of christian, and partly of converted heathen, parents; though the real blessing does not amount

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to the whole of that number. God send forth faithful labourers, for the harvest is indeed great! Therefore help us, dear sir, to implore the divine assistance.

"This short account I have given you, in humble praise of our gracious God. To him alone belongeth glory, but to us shame; and if we should even suffer ignominy and disgrace for the sake of Jesus, we are unworthy of so great an honour."

The preparation of candidates for baptism, mentioned in the preceding letter, was frequent at stated periods in every year. Several of the missionaries were occasionally employed with different parties of the natives at the same time, which was the case in the year 1751, in the course of which, twenty of these preparatory lectures and instructions took place. In general, the greater proportion of such labours devolved on the junior missionaries, as soon as they were sufficiently conversant with the native language, both for the purpose of rendering them familiar with this important employment, and of affording to the seniors more leisure for correspondence, and other laborious duties of the mission.

The utmost care was taken during these exercises to ascertain, not only the religious knowledge, but the christian dispositions of the professed converts. Those who were slow of apprehension, or the sincerity of whose views in embracing Christianity appeared doubtful, were deferred to the next preparation. This occurred with respect to two candidates

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on one of the occasions just mentioned, of whom one was found to be deficient in knowledge, and the other of too worldly a mind to be admitted into the christian church. The period of probation for baptism was sometimes extended to several months, that the missionaries might have a better opportunity of observing the moral character of the converts, and with respect to those who came from distant places, of obtaining information as to their previous conduct.

Agreeably to the practice of that comparatively early period, when there were seven or eight missionaries at Tranquebar, Swartz, as he informed his friend in the preceding letter, was accustomed to make excursions almost daily among both the Christians and the unconverted natives, generally in company with one of the elder brethren. Four or five missionaries occasionally went out, attended by one or both of the country priests, and each missionary followed by a catechist or an assistant, and some of the school-boys of the first class. They divided themselves, either singly or in parties of two, among the neighbouring towns and villages, conversing with the natives, endeavouring to convince them of their errors, and to persuade them to embrace the religion of the gospel. Various specimens will be given in these Memoirs of the wisdom and ability, as well as the kindness, evinced by Swartz in such conversations. A few shall here be inserted, which may serve to show his early proficiency in the exercise of a talent peculiarly important to a

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missionary, and in which he afterwards so eminently excelled.

A Hindoo merchant said to him, "God has created us to the end that we should know and serve him." This Swartz confirmed, and then added with regret, that although God had given him and many of his countrymen a knowledge of the end of their creation, yet they remained in idolatry, and thus unhappily never attained it. He then declared the doctrine of Christ, and pointed Him out as the only way to the true and saving knowledge of God.

Another wealthy old merchant, who understood Danish, English, and French, said to him, "Sir, be not displeased; I wish to ask you a question. Do all Europeans speak like you?" Swartz replied, that all Europeans were not true Christians; but that there were many who were really so, and who sincerely prayed for the Hindoos that they might become acquainted with Jesus Christ. "You astonish me," said he; "for, from what we daily observe and experience, we cannot but think Europeans, with but few exceptions, to be self-interested, incontinent, proud, full of illiberal contempt and prejudice against us Hindoos, and even against their own religion, especially the higher classes. So at least I have found it with the majority of those with whom I have had any intercourse."

This is a reproach which has been but too justly thrown upon Europeans by the unenlightened natives of India, and has ever formed one of the most power-

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ful obstacles to their conversion to Christianity. It is, however, a reproach which, though still too frequently deserved, has of late years been considerably removed by the improved character and conduct of our own countrymen; more particularly in stations of influence and authority. May it daily become less merited!

Swartz one day met a Hindoo dancing-master, with his female pupil, and told them, that no unholy persons shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. "Alas, sir!" said the poor girl, "in that case hardly any European will ever enter it;" and passed on.

Having asked a Pandaram, or Hindoo devotee, who carried about an idol, why he did so; "For my support," said he. Swartz reproved him for his baseness, and inquired the name of his idol. He replied by a Tamul word, signifying, "He that removes evil." Upon this, the missionary spóke to him of Jesus, as the only Saviour who took away the sins of the world.

A Hindoo pretended that he and his countrymen worshipped the same God as the Christians did, only under other names. Swartz replied, "The true God must possess divine perfections; such as supreme wisdom, omniscience, omnipotence, holiness, justice. Now, nothing of this is found in your divinities; but, by your own records, ignorance, impurity, cruelty. How can it be said of such that they are gods? You have a proverb, that where sin is, there is no excellence. Now you acknowledge the practices ascribed to your gods to be sinful; consequently,

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by your own confession, they are unworthy of the name." "That is very true," said the Hindoo; "but if we receive even what is false, and think it to be true in our heart, it is done to us according to our faith." "How can you adopt," answered Swartz, "a sophism, which you yourselves, on other occasions, reject? You are accustomed to say, 'If one write the word sugar, and then lick his finger, it will not on that account become sweet, though he believe it ever so firmly.'"

A native objected, "Show us any one who has embraced your religion, and has been actually saved, and we will believe you." Swartz answered, in the spirit of Abraham's reply in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, "God has given you his word, —prove and examine it. Such an evidence as you require is not the appointed way of becoming convinced of the truth; for the devil can transform himself into an angel of light."

Another observed, "I am surprised to hear you say, that if we forsake Paganism, our souls will be happy, and that if we do not, God will punish us. What is the soul? A breath, which, when it has left the body, is blown away with other winds. You may perceive this by our holding the hand to a dying person's mouth, to feel whether there is yet breath. If there be, life is still in him. Thus breath and the soul are one and the same thing. Who then can say that wind shall be punished? What is God? Can he be seen? He is the universe. I die:—that means nothing more than that my body is resolved

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into its original elements—water, fire, earth, air. But the existence of such a spirit within me as you speak of, I believe not. Where is it when I sleep, when I see no one, or though one touch me, I do not feel it? "Swartz replied to each point. He reminded the objector of the *operations* of the soul, such as thinking, judging, determining; and asked, whether wind was capable of these? whether he could not by this perceive that he had a soul, which is a real being, endowed with understanding and will, and which is therefore susceptible of sorrow, anxiety, and pain. He next explained the doctrine of the resurrection. This man expressed, without reserve, the doubts which other heathens entertain; from which it appears that the errors of Spinoza are not unknown in India. Indeed they are not new, having been long since noticed and refuted in Eccles. iii. 19—21, and in the book of Wisdom, ii. 1—3.

A heathen said to Swartz, "If I become a Christian, how shall I be maintained?" He replied, "Work and pray." The Gospel of St. Matthew was given to him, and on his first opening it, he lighted on the passage, chap. vi. 31—33. "Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, &c. for after all these things do the Gentiles seek: for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." This singular coincidence made a deep impression.

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A Hindoo inquired whether there were any worldly advantages, such as money or rice, to be gained by embracing our religion. Swartz lamented his earthly mind, and informed him that the missionaries were not come to support the idle, but to show to all the way to obtain incorruptible blessings. Another said, "If I become a Christian, I shall be called an apostate, who has crept into another caste." Swartz replied, that heathens and unbelievers belonged to the caste of the devil; but that the family of God, into which those are adopted who believe the gospel, is "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood; a peculiar people."

The following incidents afford a pleasing proof of the superior moral feeling of the converted Hindoo. During an artificial scarcity, occasioned by the closing of the magazines of grain, a christian woman said, "I have a Fanaam, but could get no rice to day; I had no other food therefore than water; but I have spiritual food which has comforted my heart."

A Hindoo came with his wife to be instructed by the missionaries, being induced by the meekness and patience with which his mother, who was a believer, had endured their reproaches. On Swartz visiting her, she told him that she prayed night and day, and put her trust in God alone; that He provided her with work, and that she was well contented, if she could sometimes only gather a few herbs, as she was then doing, for her support.

Another poor convert being exhorted not to care

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anxiously for the body, answered, "He that planted the tree, will he not water it? Whether he gives us life or death, we will not forsake him."

In the year 1752, Swartz conducted three numerous preparations for baptism, and continued his excursions among the neighbouring villages. No letters from him during this year are recorded in the missionary journals; and in general it may be observed, that he was averse to any extensive correspondence which might divert him from his studies and labours among the natives. From the moment that he rose in the morning, till he retired to rest, he was unremittingly employed.

In the next year, however, a letter occurs to the Rev. Dr. Struensee, then professor of divinity at Halle, afterwards superintendent-general, that is, bishop and metropolitan of the Duchy of Sleswig, and father of the unfortunate Count Struensee, prime minister of Denmark, of which the following is an extract. It is dated October 8, 1753.

"Concerning my poor labours, I usually employ myself in the morning with the school children; and when I am preparing a small party for baptism, that is also done in the forenoon. In the afternoon, Mondays excepted, I commonly go out to the villages, to visit the Christians in their cottages, and to converse with heathens.

"The enclosed annual report will exhibit to you the present external state of the mission. This year Satan, by his raging, endeavoured to excite the fears of the Christians, by which many heathens were no

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doubt deterred from embracing the gospel. For towards the end of April last, a dissension arose between the papists and heathens in Tanjore, on account of some usages. The Rajah having been informed of it, treated the Roman Catholics with great severity; upon which many of them renounced Christianity, both verbally and in writing. Since that time, the Romish Christians in the Tanjore country have been roughly handled: in which sufferings our Christians have also been made to share in several places, though not so severely as the papists in Tanjore. May our faithful God arm us with grace, resolution, and strength!

"In July a captain in the Danish navy was sent as an envoy to Tanjore, on which occasion Mr. Wiedebrœck, at the captain's earnest request, accompanied him, and had an opportunity of announcing the gospel of Christ, both in the country and in the residence itself, without hindrance. May God grant a permanent blessing upon it!"

The report alluded to by Swartz, in the preceding letter, was a short account in German, on one quarto sheet printed on the 5th of October in every year at Tranquebar, comprising the number of native Christians belonging to the three congregations constituting the Danish mission, viz. the Portuguese, and the two Tamul for the town and country, which last, previously to the establishment of the missions of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, was divided into five districts, named after their central

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places; the district of Mahaburam, that of Tanjore, including the kingdom of Madura, that of Madhewipatnam, comprising the country of Marava, and that of Cumbagonam.[1]

It may here be proper to observe, that the brethren at Tranquebar, having soon discovered the extraordinary talents of Swartz, gave him the superintendence of all the christian schools and churches south of the river Caveri.

At this period, whenever the missionaries proceeded on a journey, or returned from one, when they arrived at another missionary station, or departed from it, their first and last employment was to bend their knees in prayer to Almighty God with all their brethren. In this apostolical manner Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz, on the 18th of February 1754, set out on foot on a visit to Cuddalore. Two other missionaries accompanied them a few miles on their way, and united with them in prayer at parting. They supped and slept at the house of a Hindoo merchant, who civilly received their exhortations to himself and his family.

The persecution of Christians in Tanjore still continuing, these pious men encouraged themselves by reading in Hebrew, according to their general cus-

[1] The increase of each congregation, the missionaries, catechists, and assistants, the number of schools, schoolmasters, mistresses, and children, the printing press and its productions, the country priests and native teachers, with various other particulars, were also inserted in this statement. On the same day the missionaries wrote their annual reports to the king of Denmark, and to each branch of the royal family, which were transmitted directly to those illustrious personages.

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tom of studying the Holy Scriptures in the original languages, the 74th Psalm. After their morning devotions, first with each other, and then with servants and coolies, they proceeded on their journey, and delivered a lecture on the atonement at a place where several Christians were assembled, with a concluding address to the surrounding heathen. On the next day, they represented to the Brahmins and others, in front of a pagoda at Sembankudi, the absurdity and fatal consequences of idolatry, and in the evening reached Tirucottah, where they lodged at the commanding officer's, who was very kind to them, and accommodated them with a boat to carry them down the river and across the Coleroon, and afterwards a catamaran over another river, which saved them from passing through a desert and swampy forest. The boatmen refused to hear anything of Christianity; but stopping for refreshment in a wood, several Hindoos, and Mahomedans, and a Roman Catholic native, came round them, to whom they announced the only true God, and Jesus the only Mediator and Redeemer. A robber, one of whose feet had been struck off by the headsman of Chillumbrum, begged a plaister, which the missionaries gave him, with a direction to the only Physician of the soul for the healing of his spiritual wounds. The Romish Christian made himself known in private, but was admonished of the duty of openly confessing Christ before men; and when he urged the difficulty of doing this in India, he was reminded of our Lord's words, Matthew x. 32, 33. On their way many were

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exhorted, and tracts were distributed. One man said, "We follow our rulers." "Then," replied the missionaries, "follow God. He is the Supreme Ruler of us all."

At the Porto Novo river, they were met by Mr. Hutteman, and by Mr. Vaneck, the Dutch superior, who took them to his house. On the 23rd, they travelled the whole way to Cuddalore along the sea shore. A merchant of high rank in his caste, but reduced in circumstances, followed them from Porto Novo, and offered to become a Christian; but his views appearing to be interested, he was admonished to be sincere. At noon they addressed some Hindoos at a choultry, particularly some Byragees, a caste of professed and importunate beggars, and pointed out to some fishermen, how they were entangled in the net of Satan, and by whom they might be rescued. Towards evening Mr. Kiernander met them near Chetty-Cupam. Having strengthened each other in the Lord at the choultry, they proceeded up the river in a boat, and arrived safely at the mission house at Cuddalore. There they united in prayer to Almighty God, their reconciled Father in Christ, laid their own wants and the general distress humbly yet confidently before him, and implored a blessing upon themselves, their brethren, and their work. They then visited the sick Portuguese schoolmaster, and conversed with the catechists, and several members of the congregation. A number of Christians having come from the country for the succeeding day's service, they explained to them the Lord's

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Prayer, and the form of general confession, by way of question and answer. They closed this busy day by visiting the school and some of the mission servants.

On the 24th, being Quinquagesima Sunday, Mr. Swartz preached in the morning in Tamul, on Luke xviii. 31, on the necessity of Christ's sufferings, and Mr. Kohlhoff in the afternoon in Portuguese, during which service, the morning sermon was repeated in the Tamul school.

The next day they conversed with the native Christians who were returning into the country; and exhorted them to keep "the word of God" which they had heard, and to walk worthy of it. They again visited the sick schoolmaster, and reminded him how necessary it was to be well assured of one's state, in order to be peaceful in death.

It had been usual, from the commencement of the mission at Tranquebar, for the missionaries to hold, on Tuesday in every week, a pastoral conference on some passage of Scripture for mutual edification and encouragement. This pious custom, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz did not omit during their present excursion, but from ten to twelve on the 26th, held what they called a colloquium biblicum with their brethren at Cuddalore, on Acts x. 36, 37; taking occasion, from that animating passage, to exhort each other to courage and perseverance in the great work of "preaching peace" to the Gentiles by Jesus Christ. In the afternoon, they visited by water two villages of fishermen, situated to the east of

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Cuddalore, between the river and the sea, and observing that the hours struck at the mission church were distinctly heard on their island, they represented to them the duty of listening to the word of salvation, which the goodness of God had thus brought so near to them.

The next day, the two missionaries, accompanied by their brethren of Cuddalore, proceeded to a small neighbouring town, and sitting down in a choultry, conversed with the natives who collected round them, on the acknowledged earthly origin, and base and unworthy character of their pretended divinities, and urged the unprofitable nature of their idolatry, and the peace, purity, and immortal hope resulting from the faith of the gospel. Several succeeding days were thus occupied either in exhortations to the heathen, or to the native Christians, the catechists, the school-children, and their teachers.

Having, at the request of their brethren, consented to remain two days longer at Cuddalore, they assisted at the weekly conference, the object of which was thus stated by the founder of the mission, Ziegenbalg.

"The weekly conference which we hold every Friday with all the labourers, is of the greatest utility in keeping the mission work in order. For on that day in the forenoon, we pray to God for wisdom and counsel, and each relates how he has been employed, or what has occurred in the congregations and schools, and in the printing and bookbinding offices, and in the private houses. Here everything which might occasion disorder or detriment is ad-

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justed, and those means are adopted which may best promote the general good. The conference being ended, the Portuguese and Tamul assistants make a report of their labours, and of whatever may be wanting, that as far as possible it may be supplied."

This useful practice was regularly observed during nearly the first century of the mission, when, for some reasons which do not appear, it was discontinued.

After the conference thus referred to, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz went down the river to a Tirkera, or Moorish hermitage, where, amongst others, they addressed a Fakir, or Mahomedan mendicant, to whom the nabob had given the place and the surrounding grounds. He acknowledged that he had three wives and four-and-twenty children, and that he was much addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs. With this man they urged the base and licentious character of Mahomedanism, and the superiority of christian principles: he admitted the truth of their representations, and promised to visit them at Cuddalore.

On the 5th of March, the four missionaries again held a biblical conference on Acts x. 38, in which they encouraged each other humbly and earnestly to implore the communication of the Holy Spirit, that in the power of that divine grace they might, after the example of their heavenly Master, "go about doing good." Swartz concluded with an impressive prayer, that the Lord would vouchsafe to them a permanent blessing from that hour; that according

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to his promise he would fill them, their brethren, and all their fellow-labourers, with his Spirit, for the sake of the great Mediator and Saviour; that he would preserve them from venturing on any service relying on their own strength, but that they might go forth in his power, that thus labouring they might never want all necessary light, strength, and blessing.

Early the next day, the four missionaries again united in thanksgiving and prayer; and in the strength of their Redeemer, entered into a covenant to be his, to serve him with all their heart, and thenceforward with renewed energy to preach the gospel to the poor Gentiles around them. "Now," said Swartz, "the Lord has heard what we have spoken before him. May he give us life, strength, and prosperity!" The Cuddalore brethren accompanied him and Mr. Kohlhoff a few miles, and then separated after a cordial farewell, and wishing them abundant grace and blessing.

On their return to Tranquebar they had frequent opportunities of scattering the good seed of the word of God among Peons in the Dutch service, and Hindoos and Mahomedans from the neighbouring towns. Most of these were fishermen, of which class of natives, though there are many Roman Catholics in the south of the peninsula, few have ever been converted by the Protestants. The two missionaries, sometimes in brief, and at others in longer addresses, declared the nature of the true God, and the vanity of idols, the misery of sin, the inefficiency of Pagan ceremonies, and particularly of bathing in the sea,

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to which many whom they met were resorting, and urged the only effectual atonement of the cross. To those who made inquiries or raised objections, they gave suitable and often satisfactory replies, and received promises of farther attention to their instructions. To some Romish Christians they pointed out the errors of image-worship and of purgatory, and exhorted them to repentance, faith, and true godliness; and finding at one place at which they rested some Protestant converts, they preached to them, inquired as to their domestic devotions, and reproved the negligent.

On the 9th they were met by one of their Tranquebar brethren, and on approaching the mission house, the Tamul school children welcomed them by singing a metrical version of Ecclesiasticus, i. 22—24, "Now let us praise the Lord," which is in universal use among Protestants on the continent. The missionaries blessed the children, and shortly afterwards their remaining brethren met them, and united with them and with several officers of the Danish troops at Tranquebar, in the following devout and fervent thanksgiving and prayer, offered up by Mr. Swartz.

"Praised be thy name, O Lord, in profound humility, for all the grace, protection, and blessing which, during the whole of our journey thou hast graciously bestowed upon us of thine undeserved mercy, for the sake of Christ our Mediator! May the seed of thy word, which we thy poor servants have sowed on our journey, spring up and produce abundant fruit,

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that we, and those who have received the word into their hearts, may praise and adore thy goodness to all eternity! May the union with our brethren at Cuddalore, which has been renewed afresh in thy sacred presence, be productive of abundant blessing! Our supplications, which we have jointly brought before thy footstool, with regard to ourselves and the flock entrusted to us, vouchsafe graciously to hear, and let us perceive it, for the strengthening of our faith. And thus begin anew to bless us, and to prosper the work of our hands. Yea, prosper thou our handy work, O Lord, for the sake of Christ, and of his bitter sufferings and death! Amen."

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CHAPTER III.

War in the Carnatic between the French and English—Swartz continues his usual labours and excursions—Letter to Professor Francke—Expedition of Mr. Poltzenhagen to the Nicobar Islands—His death—Letter of Swartz to a friend in Europe—Visit of Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz to Negapatam—Conversations with the natives—Favourable results of the journey—Second Visit to Negapatam—Swartz's address to the native catechists—Capture of Fort St. David and Cuddalore by the French—Kindness of Count Lally to the missionaries—They retreat to Tranquebar—Mr. Kiernander removes to Calcutta—Mr. Hutteman returns to Cuddalore—Death of one of the first converts of Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar—The French army approaches Madras—Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt protected by Count Lally—They leave Vepery, and retire to Pullicat—An English fleet relieves Madras—The French army retreats, and the missionaries return to Vepery.

HOSTILITIES were now raging in the Carnatic between the French and English, who were contending for the superiority in India, in which several of the native princes were involved. The interior of the country was in consequence much disturbed, particularly by the incursions of the Mahrattas, who supported the French interest. The ravages of these predatory troops spread desolation and alarm wherever they appeared, and the poor native Christians

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participated in the general distress; but though the operations of the missionaries were occasionally impeded, and eventually those who were stationed at Madras and Cuddalore suffered considerably, Swartz continued his usual labours and excursions.

On the 8th of July he accompanied Mr. Fabricius, who had been for some time at Tranquebar, a few miles on his return to Madras, and on leaving him he directed his course into the interior, to visit several places inhabited by some christian families. He was attended by the assistant Martin, and while instructing the native converts, he took an opportunity of allaying the prejudices and fears of some of their unconverted neighbours, as to the education of the Hindoo children by the missionaries, and of convincing them that they could only be desirous of promoting their happiness.

In this year a captain in the Danish navy arrived as governor of Tranquebar, and shortly afterwards gave a pleasing proof of his sincere regard for religion, by redeeming a poor child whom her mother, while a heathen, had sold as a dancing girl to a neighbouring pagoda, but who, having subsequently embraced Christianity, was anxious to rescue her from that wretched slavery. The Danish governor paid much more than had been given for the child, sent her to the mission school, and defrayed the expenses of her education. She was afterwards baptized, and in process of time married to a respectable native Christian.

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On the 17th of October, 1755, Swartz wrote to Professor Francke as follows.[a]

"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of all true consolation, salvation and life, who mercifully and gloriously helpeth us in all trouble! He is a God that delighteth in our life, a God that humbleth that he may exalt us, that maketh us to feel our wretchedness, that he may thoroughly save us from it. My soul, magnify the Lord!

"The distress of the christian congregation, and the insensibility of the heathen to the word of God, often grievously afflict my soul, which is not yet experienced in the ways of truth. However, I strive, as well as I am enabled by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, to cast this burden upon him that is mighty to help, and delights to bow down to us in mercy, that we may not remain and sink in trouble. The words of Christ from Isaiah xlix. 4, often occur to my mind. 'Then I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and in vain; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.' But, indeed, the following verse ought to allay all grief, and to bind the sorrowful heart to the word of the divine promise. The unwearied patience and mercy of God in working upon my own soul also greatly comfort me, when he saith within me, 'Tell it once more,—go, announce it both to Christians and heathens; for thou thyself also wert sometime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures; and yet, in that most corrupt condition, deserving wrath and

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death, a merciful God hath wrought in thee for Christ's sake, and waited for thy conversion, not a few, but many years,—now learn thou also to wait patiently in hope. Now, my heart, mind, thoughts, desires, designs, and all my will, be offered up to the will of my heavenly Father. Not my will, but thine be done! Yet, let thy kingdom come, in India also, to myself and to others!'

"As to outward circumstances, a gracious God hath paternally preserved me, and amidst bodily weakness mightily supported me. Let my God only give me that which Paul was enabled cheerfully to say, 2 Cor. v. 1, 'We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens!'

"I shall waive a particular account of the circumstances and concerns of the mission, since the most important points are contained in our common letter. I only mention my heartfelt joy on account of the wonderfully kind providence of God, that he blessed us on the 1st of July last with a new fellow-labourer and brother, Mr. Peter Dame, in whom the mind of Christ is so pleasingly conspicuous. As we little expected this, it hath caused us the greater joy. In the Christmas holidays he will, by the divine blessing, deliver a testimony to Christ before the congregegation. Now, may a gracious God grant that he may prove abundantly successful!

"C. F. SWARTZ."

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It is observable, that the reports and joint letters of the 31st of December 1755, and 30th of June 1756, were signed by eight missionaries, the largest number ever residing at one time at Tranquebar.

In September 1756, Mr. Poltzenhagen, at the request of the Danish government, accompanied the new colonists to the Nicobar Islands, both to act as their chaplain, and to promote the civilisation and conversion of the natives. He collected much information, and began to converse in the language of the Islands, when a short illness terminated his valuable life on the 28th of November following, in the flower of his age. His labours in the Portuguese congregation and school at Tranquebar fell to the share of Mr. Swartz, till Mr. Dame was qualified to undertake them, and in the mean time Swartz continued to officiate in Tamul.

The French, in consequence of the success of some of their military enterprises in this and the two following years, were now indulging the hope of becoming masters of the greater part of India. This encouraged the Roman Catholic priests to reproach and threaten the native Protestant converts, and even stimulated them to some acts of open violence. In addition to this source of uneasiness, a dispute between the Danish government and the Rajah of Tanjore led to an incursion into the Danish territory, in which the poor Christians suffered depredation, and the mission church at Poreiar was considerably injured. These adverse circumstances did not, however, prevent the missionaries from celebrating

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the 9th of July 1756 as a jubilee, that being the anniversary of the day on which, fifty years before, the first Protestant preachers landed on the shores of India.

The missionaries mention, in their journal of this year, a remarkable acknowledgment of the principal minister of the Rajah of Tanjore, that there is but one true God, and that the images of their idols ought to be broken and thrown into the sea; and that such was the tyranny and injustice of the government, that many of the natives wished the English to take possession of the country. The Brahmins, however, not knowing the cautious policy, or rather the indifference of most Europeans, feared that they would favour the introduction of Christianity, and therefore dreaded their influence.

The missionaries also relate that the Rajah having been informed of a considerable subterranean treasure, which was guarded by demons, who would not permit it to be removed without the sacrifice of five hundred human beings, had dispersed fifty kidnappers through the country, who by throwing a magical powder upon their victims, pretended to deprive them of their senses, and thus obtained possession of them. This so much alarmed the superstitious Hindoos, that scarcely any but Christians ventured for some time to travel from one place to another.

They add the more interesting fact, that three Mahomedans were in the course of this year baptized at Vepery, and formed the first fruits of the

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conversion to Protestant Christianity of that class of the natives on the coast of Coromandel.

The Tranquebar journal of 1757 notices a visit of Mr. Kohlhoff to Seringham, at the request of a sick German officer in the French service. While there, he had several opportunities of addressing the Brahmins within the great pagoda, as well as at Trichinopoly, then garrisoned by the English. He mentions having observed at the latter place the simple method adopted by the natives to convey immense stones to the top of the highest buildings without machinery; namely, by throwing up a sloping mound of earth against the building, and forcing the stone up the inclined plane. From Trichinopoly Mr. Kohlhoff proceeded to Tanjore, where he preached both to European and native Christians, and was invited to a conference with one of the Rajah's ministers, to whom he declared the truths of the Gospel.

Towards the close of this year a letter occurs from Swartz to a friend in Europe, of which the followiug is an interesting extract.

"In my ministerial functions no variation has taken place, except that I have been upwards of nine months in the late Mr. Poltzenhagen's house, and have had the instruction of the Portuguese school and congregation. The Lord lay his blessing on it! This is certain, and I learn it daily, that neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that

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watereth, but God that giveth the increase. He who, altogether despairing of himself and his own strength, goes out in all humility with prayer and supplication, seeks that which is lost, and then waits for the former and the latter rain from the Lord, he receiveth blessing of God, and is preserved from much disquietude. And although the blessing is not instantly visible, yet God awakeneth the heart, and enableth us to say, 'At thy word I will let down the net. And when they had this done, they enclosed a great multitude of fishes.' This text I remember frequently, especially as it is that on which I preached my first sermon at the University; and by means of which God has produced in me poverty of spirit, and at the same time a filial reliance on his word. May he teach it me more and more, and inculcate it by his Spirit! It was only yesterday, as Mr. Dame and I were observing the obstinacy of the poor pagans, we spoke on this subject, and excited each other to look off from ourselves to God."

Early in 1758, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz set out on a visit to Negapatam, which is about twenty miles south of Tranquebar. They proceeded by a circuitous route through the country, in order that they might have more frequent opportunities of addressing both Christians and unbelievers. In the evening they repeated to some native Christians, at the village where they rested, the sermon which had been preached that morning at the mission church on the gospel for the day; and very early the next

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morning they explained to them the Lord's Prayer, addressing at the same time some suitable instruction and admonition to several Roman Catholics and heathens who were present. At their next station they lectured on the Creed; and here it may be observed, that their converts being universally taught to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and the words of the institution of both the sacraments—a lecture on any of these subjects peculiarly fixes their attention. At another choultry, in which the missionaries found a party of Mahomedans, who readily acknowledged Jesus to be a prophet, they discoursed on his importance as a Mediator, and on the inestimable work of redemption; and drawing a parallel between Christ and Mahomet, they proved the infinite superiority of the former, and urged the duty of an exclusive faith in him.

At three o'clock on the following morning, the assistant who accompanied them collected a small party of Christians, whom the missionaries instructed in the scriptural method of salvation, and with whom, as was their constant custom, they prayed. In this manner they pursued their journey.

On the way, seeing a number of natives passing them hastily, and inquiring the cause, they were told that a Brahmin had drowned himself under the pressure of pain; upon which they took occasion to point out the wretched condition of their guides, and exhorted them to seek the grace and peace of God in their hearts, which would enable them

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patiently to endure calamities. Some of them insinuated that God had predestinated the Brahmin to his miserable end; but the missionaries testified that God was not the author of evil, but was a lover of our temporal and eternal happiness.

On their arrival at Negapatam, they paid their respects to the Dutch governor, and were hospitably received by one of the gentlemen of that settlement. During the week that they continued there, the missionaries were incessantly engaged in various religious services with the native and European Christians.

They preached in Tamul and Portuguese, and more than once in their own language, to about two hundred Germans of different ranks, who were earnestly desirous of christian instruction. They visited the Lazaretto, where a number of lepers were supported at the expense of the Dutch East India Company, and gave those unhappy persons a suitable exhortation. On their return they had various conversations with natives, one of whom observed with great simplicity, "We have books wherein the solar and lunar eclipses are accurately calculated, and according to those calculations the events happen. Now," said he, "as these prove true, so we believe that other points contained in these books, which concern the divine law and heavenly things, are true also." The missionaries replied by explaining the difference between physical and religious truths, and pointed out the fallacy of arguing from the results of natural science, to the knowledge which can only be

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derived from divine revelation. It needs scarcely be added, that on many occasions they had to lament the inefficacy of their instructions, but on others they met with willing and attentive hearers; and in general the missionaries observed that their reception was more favourable in places under Dutch authority than elsewhere, the official servants of that government being free from the prejudice commonly entertained against natives professing Christianity, and often even employing them in preference to others.

In the course of their visit to Negapatam, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz reminded their European friends that it was their duty to promote the kingdom of Christ; and that the higher the station in which God had placed them, the more responsible they would be, if they neglected to acquit themselves of the obligations incumbent on christian rulers, to be nursing fathers of the church. The governor assured them of his readiness to favour the advancement of Christianity; and in proof of it, promised that as soon as their chaplain returned, he would begin to build a church for the use of the native Christians—a promise which, in less than a year afterwards, was faithfully fulfilled, when a building for this purpose was dedicated in the presence of two of the Tranquebar missionaries.

Not long afterwards, Swartz made another excursion into the interior of the country, accompanied by one of the native assistants, during which, several Hindoos of high caste listened to him with great attention, and said on parting from him, "You are

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an universal priest;" intimating, that he was worthy not only of being the religious instructor of Europeans, but of themselves also. While on this short tour, he experienced from many of the natives marked respect and kindness, one of them, in a place where he could purchase nothing, voluntarily bringing hot water and milk for his tea, and providing him and his attendants with a supper.

The good effects of his and Mr. Kohlhoff's visit to Negapatam were soon so apparent in the awakening of a concern for religion in the minds of many of the German Protestants, that at their urgent request, after much deliberation and prayer, Swartz, accompanied by Mr. Klein, another of his brethren, made a second journey to that station in the month of April following. They were met by two native catechists, and by several European gentlemen, and conducted to Negapatam. There they spent another week, preaching on the most important and impressive subjects, chiefly in German, but two or three times also in Portuguese and Tamul, to the native converts. They administered the holy communion, distributed books and tracts of piety and devotion, and departed, rejoicing at the evident proofs afforded by many of every class, of their cordial reception of the word of God. At the close of their farewell discourses, the Europeans presented the missionaries with a collection for the poor at Tranquebar, amounting to upwards of thirty-two pagodas, great part of which was contributed by the Dutch soldiers.

It had been customary since the year 1741, after

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the arrival of Messrs. Kohlhoff, Fabricius, and Zegler, when the country catechists and the teachers in and near Tranquebar assembled once a month to read the report of their proceedings, for one of the missionaries to give an exhortation on some text of scripture, to stir them up to the faithful discharge of their important duties. Lectures in divinity were also given to the most able and intelligent among them, and an admonition to the poor on distributing the monthly alms. On his return from Negapatam, Swartz addressed the catechists who had brought their reports, from 1 Cor. xv. 10, " By the grace of God I am what I am ;" from which striking example of the apostle, he represented to them humility as an essential and most important quality in every christian teacher, leading him to entertain the lowliest thoughts of himself, and at the same time to value and depend on the grace of God in Christ Jesus above all things.

This was a critical year to the British power in India, and to the missions at Cuddalore and Madras. During the night of the 28th of April, the French landed a body of troops near Fort St. David, which, being joined by others from Pondicherry, ravaged and plundered the neighbouring towns and villages in a most cruel manner. Many of the Roman Catholic Christians fled to their adjacent church, near the governor's garden-house, where they trusted that, as brethren in the faith with the French, they should be safe. Some one, however, among the invading party, having reported that these were the English Pro-

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testant missionaries, and that it was their church, the poor Roman Catholics who had taken refuge in it were inhumanly massacred, and the church rased to the foundation. In the mean time, the Protestant missionaries were by the good Providence of God safe within the walls of Cuddalore. It was remarkable that a person at Tranquebar, who was known to be connected with the French, when the news of their attack reached that place, expressed his conviction that Messrs. Kiernander and Hutteman had been put to death,

On the 1st of May the French troops approached Cuddalore, and the walls being very low and weak, it was apprehended that, at the rising of the moon at midnight, they would storm the town. The alarm of the native inhabitants was in consequence extreme; and they came by hundreds to the missionaries with their most valuable effects, with which they filled the mission houses. They were, however, spared the horrors of an assault, and early the next morning a French officer brought a summons to the garrison to surrender the place on capitulation. The English commander of the Fort soon afterwards kindly sent a note to the missionaries, advising them to accompany his messenger to the enemy's camp, in order to request the French general to take them under his protection. This advice they thankfully adopted, and followed the flag of truce by a circuitous route through the country, which had been laid waste in every direction by the French cavalry. At length they reached the choultry where the com-

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mander-in-chief, the unfortunate Count Lally,[1] had fixed his head-quarters. He immediately assured them that they had nothing to fear, and that he would afford them every protection. His own regiment being nearly all Irish, the officers spoke English, and Colonel Kennedy accompanied the missionaries some distance on their return.

Cuddalore being quite unequal to a defence against so considerable a force, and being entirely open towards the river, the governor of Fort St. David agreed to the proposed capitulation, and the town was in consequence delivered up to the French. The captain of the grenadier company of the regiment Lorraine, which had taken possession of the Porto Novo gate, received orders from his general to send a guard to the missionaries to protect their houses, and they expressed their gratitude by affording refreshments both to the officers and soldiers. They discovered also, that the German captain, Baron Heidemann, whom Mr. Kohlhoff had visited at Seringham, had given orders to his hussars to protect them.[2]

As soon as the capitulation was signed, the missionaries sent a messenger to their brethren at Tranquebar, informing them of their melancholy situation, and requesting some country boats for transporting the mission property, as it was supposed that all the inhabitants would be required to take an oath of

[1] See Orme's History, vol. ii.; and Mill's British India, vol. iii.

[2] This pious officer, about two years afterwards, quitted the French service, and retired to the mission at Vepery, where he died in 1761.

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fidelity to the French government, and it was no longer expedient to remain at their present station. The next day the English garrison marched out of Cuddalore, and some French officers took up their quarters at the mission houses. In the course of the day, Count Lally himself visited the missionaries and conversed with them in English, inquiring what countrymen they were, whether Lutherans or Calvinists, wherein their functions consisted, and how far they had succeeded in many converts. He kindly gave them passports, and granted two country boats, which had arrived from Porto Novo with provisions for the French troops, to transport their goods. With much difficulty they contrived, amidst the confusion around them, to get their property on board. The missionaries then assembled their little christian flock, and kneeling down, commended them to the Lord, praying that he would guide and protect them.

Many Christians and other natives, with their families, were allowed to accompany the missionaries on leaving Cuddalore. In the evening they arrived at Porto Novo, where they were cordially received by the Dutch resident; and at noon the next day at Devi-Cottah, where the English gave them a most hospitable welcome. On the 8th they reached Tranquebar, where houses were assigned to them by their kind brethren: the native Christians were lodged for the present in the paper mill at Poreiar, and the Cuddalore children were received into the Tamul school. The two missionaries insisting on taking a share in the labours at Tranquebar, Mr.

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Kiernander assisted in the Portuguese, and Mr. Hutteman in the Malabar congregations.

The early departure of the missionaries and their converts from Cuddalore appears to have been highly providential. Several Jesuits from Pondicherry, with a party of their followers, arrived the next day; and, on finding they had escaped, expressed their disappointment, as well as great displeasure against Count Lally, who had granted them a safe dismissal.

Most of the native converts having left Cuddalore, some retiring to Tranquebar, and others to Madras, Mr. Kiernander perceived no immediate prospect of being able to return to his former station, and in consequence felt it to be his duty to engage in some new sphere of labour. After mature reflection and consultation with his brethren, it was resolved that he should endeavour to establish a mission in Bengal. For this purpose he proceeded to Calcutta in September 1758, and, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, he laboured there some years with exemplary piety and diligence, and with considerable success. Mr. Hutteman remained at Tranquebar till September 1760, when he returned and resumed his labours at Cuddalore, which had been retaken by the British army. There, among other instances of the divine blessing upon his ministry, he was the instrument of converting a Pandaram of the highest caste, and of great respectability and learning, in Tanjore. The account of this distinguished convert, written by himself, together with

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the remonstrance of his brethren of the college of Pandarams, of which he had been a member, and his energetic and truly christian reply, are contained in the reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for the year 1765. By one of the biographers of Swartz this conversion has been erroneously attributed to him, instead of his excellent friend Mr. Hutteman, to whom, under God, this honour is due.

Notwithstanding the disturbed and critical state of the surrounding country, the missionaries at Tranquebar, which, as belonging to a neutral state, had suffered none of the calamities of war, celebrated, as they were accustomed on the 31st of October, the anniversary of the German Reformation, by singing hymns of praise to its divine Author.

On the 21st of November in this year, died at Tranquebar, an aged woman, who was one of the first five converts to Christianity by Ziegenbalg and Plutscho, having been baptized on the 12th of May 1707. She was born and educated a Mahomedan, and was already of adult age when she became a Christian. Her life had been irreproachable, and she had regularly attended the public services of the mission. At her funeral, which was numerously attended, a short address, appropriate to the interesting occasion, was delivered in the old mission church.

The French army approached Madras in November, availing itself of the monsoon, during which the English fleet could not remain on that station. The

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missionaries at Vepery, Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt, observed, in consequence, a day of penitence and prayer; humbly deprecating the approaching visitation, and imploring the divine protection in behalf of the English government, and the army, the country, and the mission. It was a remarkable and impressive circumstance, that even the youngest children in their schools, contrary to their usual custom, joined in the amen at the conclusion of their prayer.

On the 6th of December, the French began to invest Madras, to the disappointment of numbers who had intended to retire, among whom were the missionaries, who had made every preparation for transporting themselves and their property to Pulicat. The French army being unprovided with artillery, no one anticipated so sudden an approach; but the roads both to the south and the north being occupied by the enemy, and the missionaries being unwilling to retreat into the Fort or White town, with their numerous families, aged persons, women and children, they had no other resource than, in the event of the English army retiring into the city, to endeavour to obtain the protection of the French general, Count Lally, as Mr. Fabricius had done in the year 1746, on the capture of Madras by M. Labourdonnais. They felt, however, that it would not become them to seek such protection from the French general before he had rendered himself master of the country. On the 12th the French army advanced, and, after firing a few rounds, the English retreated into the fort.

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Scarcely had this movement taken place, when the Mahomedan irregular cavalry of the French army galloped over the plains, and listening to no representations of the missionaries, forced their way into their houses, and robbed and plundered them of everything. At length they approached the church, in which great numbers of men, women, and children had taken refuge. Here they compelled the native men to give up their clothes and turbans, and the women their necklaces and ear-rings. "Our gracious God, however," observe the missionaries, "without whose permission not a hair falls from our heads, mercifully preserved his servants, so that their persons were not touched, and, with the exception of being plundered, no one sustained the slightest injury." The native Christians fled across the river into Madras, whither Mr. Breithaupt and his family also escaped, while Mr. Fabricius, escorted by a friendly Roman Catholic trooper whom he met among the plunderers, proceeded to the French camp.

It was late in the evening before Mr. Fabricius could obtain from Count Lally the desired protection. The French officers expressed their regret that he had not sooner applied for it, adding, that on such occasions, it was not in their power to restrain the excesses of the Mahomedan troops. The missionaries, however, humbly resigning themselves to the will of God, felt comparatively little for their own losses, but deeply lamented that the property of many persons, particularly that of some widows and

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orphans, which had been entrusted to their care, should have been thus plundered—a circumstance which led them afterwards to be cautious in becoming such depositaries, except in behalf of each other.

As soon as Mr. Fabricius had obtained a soldier to protect him, he returned to Vepery, where he found everything in the utmost confusion; most of the mission furniture, their provisions, books, clothes, and utensils, had disappeared. Their manuscripts and correspondence, though scattered in every direction, were happily preserved; and some of their more useful books were afterwards discovered. Some benevolent friends at Fort St. George kindly sent Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt a present of money, linen, and clothing; and thus the providence of God watched over them and supplied their wants.

Very early on the 14th of December, the French army defiled past the mission house towards the northern suburb of Madras, compelling two youths of the christian congregation to accompany them as guides. A strong detachment from the fort here attacked the French, but the English were repulsed with considerable loss. The French plundered the Black Town, and commenced the siege of Fort St. George. To avoid the difficulties and dangers attending such a scene, the missionaries, about Christmas, together with many of their converts, left Madras, and proceeded to Pulicat, where they were hospitably received by the Dutch authorities.

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In the mean time, Count Lally urged the siege of Madras with the feeble means he possessed, and about the middle of February 1759, a breach having been made in the walls, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Governor Pigot and the English commander, the veteran Major Lawrence, preparations were making for the assault; when, on the 16th, the very day which had been fixed for the purpose, an English fleet unexpectedly arrived off Madras, and in two hours the French officer commanding in the trenches received orders to abandon the siege. The next day the French army retreated from Madras, and in the course of a few weeks the missionaries returned to their peaceful and beneficent labours. The victory of Colonel Coote at Wandewash, and the subsequent capture of Pondicherry, defeated the last hopes of the French in that quarter, and established the British ascendency in the Carnatic.

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CHAPTER IV.

Tranquillity of the Danish missionaries during the late hostilities in the Carnatic—Visit of Swartz to Ceylon—His various ministerial labours and his illness in that island—His faithful admonition to a sceptic—His departure from Ceylon—His reflections on this visit—Journey with Mr. Kohlhoff to Cuddalore and Madras—His religious views and feelings, in a letter to a friend—Enlarged sphere of his labours—Journey to Tanjore and Trichinopoly—First proceedings in those cities—Introduction to the Nabob of Arcot—Conversations with natives near Trichinopoly—Commencement of Divine Service with the English garrison—Contagious fever—Services of Swartz during the siege of Madura—His removal from Tranquebar, and establishment at Trichinopoly, as a missionary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—Arrival of Mr. Gericke in India.

WHILE the operations of the missionaries at Cuddalore and Madras had been thus painfully interrupted and suspended by the hostilities between the French and English, Mr. Swartz and his colleagues at Tranquebar were pursuing their accustomed labours in comparative tranquillity, and affording, as we have seen, hospitality and comfort to many of their christian brethren, both native and European.

From an early period of the Danish mission, some correspondence had been carried on with the Dutch ministers in Ceylon, whom the missionaries at Tranquebar had occasionally supplied with copies of the

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Holy Scriptures in Tamul, that language being spoken in the north of the island. Early in the year 1760, some Christians at Colombo and Jaffnapatnam having expressed an earnest desire for a visit from some of the Danish missionaries, for the purpose of spiritual instruction and edification, Swartz determined to comply with their request, and on the 25th of April proceeded on his journey, accompanied by two of his brethren. The first evening they reached the fortress of Karikal, where they passed the night, being received in the most friendly manner by the English commandant. On the road they met several natives, to whom the excellent missionary, ever on the watch to improve opportunities of usefulness, represented the majesty of the Supreme Being, his glorious works, and his numberless mercies, and exhorted them faithfully to acknowledge and reverentially to worship him, the only true God. They approved of what he said, and two of them accompanied him as far as Neur, with whom he had much conversation. Near this place he was met by a very pious Christian, whose conversation greatly refreshed him. At noon he reached Negapatam, and in the evening waited on the governor, Baron D'Eck, from whom he learned that the sloop in which he was to proceed to Jaffnapatnam was ready to sail. During the voyage, on the 28th, being within sight of the port, a waterspout rose so close to the vessel, that all on board were under the most painful apprehensions; but, on the guns being fired, it soon dispersed.

On landing in the island of Ceylon, Swartz

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was kindly received by the Dutch resident; and on the 30th of April he arrived at Jaffnapatnam, where Captain de Dohren invited him to be his guest. Here he commenced a series of christian labours which proved most acceptable and beneficial to the inhabitants of the different stations which he visited, and were long afterwards remembered with gratitude by many who appeared to be thirsting for divine instruction.

The two Dutch ministers, then residing at Jaffnapatnam, were native Tamuls. After addressing the company's interpreter in the presence of many who were assembled, on the characteristics of a true Christian, Swartz explained in the evening to the two ministers, in their native language, the great design of missions, the duties of missionaries, their behaviour towards the heathen, and the best method of conducting schools. On the 2nd of May he preached to a christian congregation from Luke xix. 10—"The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost;" and again, from John xvi. 5, on the Holy Spirit, and the grounds on which we may now hope to become partakers of that inestimable gift. On the 5th he visited the hospital with the physician, and addressed both the sick and those in health from the words of St. John i. 29, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." The next day he set out for Colombo, to request permission of the governor to administer the holy communion at Jaffnapatnam. This tedious journey occupied twelve days, and he arrived at

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Colombo on the 18th, just as divine service was commencing. In the afternoon he was introduced to the Governor Schreuder, who inquired into the design of his visit, and then very kindly giving him his advice how best to proceed, opened a field of usefulness far more extensive than he had anticipated. The day following he devoted to a visit to the Dutch clergymen, conversing with them on the state of the mission, and the exertions of the Dutch, in behalf of the heathen, in the island of Ceylon. On the 20th he dined with the governor, to whom he related the most important occurrences at the several missionary stations, and the active operations which were in progress, both among Christians and heathen. From the 21st to the 26th he was engaged in preparing those who intended to receive the Lord's Supper. But about this time he was interrupted in the midst of his pious labours by a severe illness, probably brought on by his long and fatiguing journey in the hot season, which continued during the whole month, but of which it is to be regretted that no other record remains than his thankful acknowledgment, which afterwards appears, of its beneficial effect upon his own mind.

On recovering from this indisposition, on the 17th of July, the anniversary of his arrival in India, ten years before, Swartz preached a sermon preparatory to the holy communion, on Matthew iii. 2, in which he dwelt much on the nature of the motives to true repentance. The next day, after a discourse on 1 Cor. xi. 28, in which he expatiated on the happy

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effects of worthily approaching the table of the Lord, the bread and cup of blessing were received by four hundred persons, many of whom afterwards acknowledged the powerful impression produced on their minds by their participation in that sacred ordinance.

On the following day he received an invitation to preach the word of God to the Christians at Point de Galle, to which place he proceeded on the 22nd, and arrived on the 24th. Several members of the congregations met him on the road with tears of joy. On the 26th he commenced preparatory instructions for the holy communion, which he continued till the 30th, when he preached on Luke xv., explaining the nature of true conversion; and on the next day one hundred and twenty-six persons were admitted to that sacrament, after he had exhorted them, in many private conversations, to choose the narrow way which leadeth unto life eternal.

On the 1st of August he left Point de Galle for Colombo, where he again arrived on the 4th, after having administered the sacrament at Caleture. The road to the latter place, planted on both sides with cocoa trees, he described as particularly pleasant. Having now spent more than three months in Ceylon, he commenced his return to Tranquebar. For this purpose he embarked on board a Moorish vessel, much enjoying the fine view of Colombo from the sea, and commending its inhabitants to the divine mercy. Towards evening, having lost sight of land, the Mahomedan seamen requested him to relate to them the

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history of Christ, with which he gladly complied, calling their attention to the difference between the Christian and Mahomedan religion. They would not admit that Mahomet was a false prophet, but behaved with great mildness and modesty.

On the 29th of August he arrived at Jaffnapatnam, and, after preaching from Matt. xxvi. 26, he administered the holy sacrament to thirty-nine persons. In the afternoon he addressed the sick at the hospital, on Luke xv. 2, "This man receiveth sinners." He visited the hospital again on the following day, and preached in the morning from 1 Cor. xi. 23, when eleven persons received the holy communion. In the afternoon he selected for his text the words of the Psalmist, "Teach me to do thy will." Ps. cxliii. 10,—exhorting his hearers to make this one of their chief prayers to God.

Amongst others with whom he conversed at Jaffna, on religion, a well-informed man, who was of a scientific turn of mind, told him of the distress which his unbelief caused him, mentioning several of the doubts which he entertained on the subject of revelation. Swartz having dispelled them, concluded his conversation with the following important admonition. "It is very right to endeavour, by sound reasoning and argument, to become convinced of the truth of divine revelation: but this is not sufficient. The chief cause of your unbelief is your own perverse will and inclination. You wish that the word of God may prove untrue for no other reason than this, that you may be allowed to live undisturbed in

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sin; but I declare to you, it is not enough that your understanding is convinced of the truth—your heart and will must be changed. Turn, therefore, with full purpose of heart, to the living God, and endeavour to obtain grace and pardon through the blood of the atonement; and watch and pray, and you will find help. You must enter upon this most important business with great zeal, and with a holy importunity." The gentleman to whom this faithful appeal was addressed, appeared to be deeply affected by it; and, as one proof of its efficacy, he immediately sent for a neighbour, with whom he had lived at enmity, and reconciled himself to him.

On the 5th of September, prior to his departure, Swartz went to Point Pedro for the purpose of seeing the large tree, under which the celebrated Baldæus, who accompanied the Dutch expedition, which took possession of Ceylon, in the seventeenth century, addressed his first discourse to the natives. He conversed with some Malabar people whom he met on the spot, and preached the Gospel to them. On his return, he again embarked on board his vessel, impressed with gratitude to God for the help which he had experienced in visiting and addressing so many different congregations; and after a short and pleasant voyage, he arrived on the 9th of September at Negapatam, and concluded the journal of his visit to Ceylon in the following modest terms: "With a humble heart I bless the name of the Lord for the grace, help, and protection he has vouchsafed to me. May he pardon, for Christ's sake, all my sins of

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omission and commission; and may a lasting blessing rest on all I have done and spoken in my infirmity, agreeably to his word! Amen."

In a letter to his excellent friend Dr. Francke, dated October 16th, 1760, Swartz thus piously refers to his late voyage to Ceylon:

"May I never forget the good I have received at the hands of God; and may the remembrance of his great and unmerited kindness strengthen me to do his will, and to walk in the way of his commandments! I know, indeed, from experience, that after God has comforted the heart with the assurance of his grace and pardoning love, there will be also found readiness and strength faithfully to discharge our general and relative duties. May a merciful God glorify Christ in my soul, as my adorable Mediator and Redeemer, that I may taste and see how gracious he is!

"I was much troubled, and even somewhat impeded, in the discharge of my duty, by a dry cough in January and February last, which always greatly increased whenever I attempted to remain for any length of time in the open air, during the prevalence of northerly winds; on which account an opportunity of undertaking a voyage to Ceylon was particularly welcome to me. When I reflect how God has condescended to humble and purify me by means of an illness with which I was visited at Colombo, I am constrained to praise him in silence. 'All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth,' even when

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it would seem as if he had visited us in anger, and contrary to the assurance which his word contains. I have reason to think that the seed of the word sown at Colombo, has been productive, in some instances, of real and lasting good. The commanding officer at Galle, a member of the reformed Church, appeared much affected, and said to the Lutherans: 'I suppose you would be glad to receive a similar visit once a year.' And on my taking leave, he thanked me most feelingly for the edification he had received, and begged me to come again. The word of God being so scarce in that island, I assure you that the divine service was conducted in a very solemn and edifying manner. Indeed my inmost soul was moved by it."

Early in 1761 some circumstances communicated to Swartz by Mr. Hutteman, induced him, in conjunction with his friend Mr. Kohlhoff, to undertake a journey northwards to Cuddalore and Madras. Meeting some fishermen on their way, they exhorted them to turn to the living God, through Jesus Christ. One of them replied, "You are not in want, and are therefore not prevented from serving God." The missionaries pointed to the sea, as to an inexhaustible treasury, from which they might every day derive enough to satisfy their own wants, as well as those of many others. In Wanagiri, a Brahmin and some natives that were with him, inquired from whence they came. "From Tranquebar," said Swartz, "for the purpose of address-

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ing to you the tidings of salvation." "We have no time," said they, "to hear you, as we are going to the magistrate." Being, however, prevailed upon to listen for a few moments, the missionary told them, that the Lord of heaven called them to enjoy bliss and happiness in another world. "What would you have us to do?" was the reply. "We earnestly exhort you," he said, "to repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ." They observed, "We do worship God, and he being omnipresent, we may as well worship him under the form of a stone." The missionary replied, that there was no likeness of the living God, either in heaven above or in the earth beneath; and that therefore it was dishonouring him to worship him in the form of anything corruptible.

Near a river the two travellers met with a Mahomedan chief, and some of his people entered into conversation with them. Swartz observed, that all men were strangers and pilgrims on the earth, who should desire a better, even a heavenly country, which it was impossible to reach by any works or merits of their own, but only by faith in Jesus Christ. They listened with great attention, and as often as the name of Jesus was mentioned, the chief added that of Messiah. On parting, he requested the friendship of the missionaries, and wished them prosperity.

On the 30th of January, he and his companion arrived at the mission-house in Cuddalore, admiring the goodness of God, by which the town was pre-

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served during the tumults of the late war. Having stayed a day or two and preached there, they pursued their journey; and near Pondicherry a native Roman Catholic, with his wife, joined them, to whom they pointed out the happiness to be derived from the pure Gospel of Christ. At Pondicherry they were kindly received by a French inhabitant, who related to them the great distress they had suffered during the late siege of that place. To a young Brahmin whom they met near Mareikanam, carrying a bench on which the idol Ramen is usually placed, and who accompanied them as far as the river Kartiel, Swartz related the history of the creation, and fall of man, and the redemption by Jesus Christ, and testified against the deplorable practice of idol worship.

On the evening of the 6th they reached Sadras, where they were received in a very friendly manner by the Dutch commander of the Fort, and distributed some German tracts among the soldiers; and on the 8th they arrived at Vepery, from which their brethren had been compelled to retreat two years before. They visited the various institutions at this station, conversed with some Mahomedans, and exhorted the native Tamul Christians to walk worthy of the Gospel. On the 10th a conference of the missionary brethren was held, at which the native assistants were present. On the 15th Swartz preached in Tamul, from Luke xxii. 39—46. He was detained at Vepery till the 10th of March, by a contusion which he had received at Sadras, and which had brought on inflammation; but on the 18th he

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returned safely to Tranquebar, where he continued during the remainder of the year, actively engaged in the ordinary labours of the mission.

At the commencement of 1762, we find him, in a letter to a friend at Halle, giving the following pious and interesting sketch of his religious views and feelings.

"With respect to my present circumstances, I feel constrained to bless God for the manifold mercies showered down in the past year upon me, the least of his servants, through Christ's atonement and intercession. He has supported me day by day in the most gracious manner; he has instructed and reproved me by his Spirit; he has never left me without consolation—there my soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. Indeed I have the greatest cause for gratitude; for the Lord has regarded the low estate of his servant. My joy is not extravagant, but calm and abiding, and my great aim is to know that I am the Lord's through Christ, that I have found grace in his sight, that his peace rests upon me, that I can confidently approach him in prayer, and have a certain hope of eternal life; so that even days of sickness cannot deprive me of these consolations.

"Many of the Roman Catholics in this place acknowledge the superior advantages which the pure Gospel has over the confused doctrines and traditions of men; which, instead of relieving, only oppress the conscience. When I visit them in their houses they

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listen to me gladly, and I affectionately invite them to convince themselves of the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, made by Christ for the sins of the whole world, as the foundation of their faith; and that believing this, they may enjoy peace of conscience, and become partakers of the precious blessings obtained for them by his sufferings and death upon the cross. I point out to them what Jesus Christ himself has taught respecting the way which leadeth unto life, and how much the Romish Church has deviated from the pure doctrine of the Gospel. Father, let thy kingdom come! O send forth faithful labourers into thy harvest!"

Various and important as the services of Swartz had already been, it must be evident that he possessed talents and acquirements which qualified him for a sphere of more extensive usefulness than the narrow limits of the Danish territory and its immediate neighbourhood afforded. An opportunity for thus enlarging the scene of his labours shortly afterwards occurred.

In the month of May, 1762, accompanied by another missionary,[1] he went on foot to Tanjore and Trichinopoly, preaching both to Christians and heathens. At Tanjore he was permitted to explain the doctrines of the Gospel, not only in the city, but even in the rajah's palace, where he took occasion, from questions which the officers of the court asked

[1] Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

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him concerning worldly affairs, to turn the conversation to religious subjects. The rajah was present and heard him, but was not visible.

At Trichinopoly, where he remained till July, he was treated with great kindness by the English; and with the assistance of Major Preston and Mr. Newton,[1] a room was built for the purpose of divine worship, and as a school for children. In September, on his return from Tanjore, he baptised several Hindoo converts, and received some Roman Catholics into the congregation, after having previously instructed them in the Protestant faith.

Though Tranquebar continued for some time to be nominally the place of his residence, Trichinopoly and Tanjore began, from this period, to be the chief objects of his attention, as they were ultimately the principal sphere of his missionary labours. The former of these two cities contained, at this period, from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants, several handsome mosques, and a palace and gardens of the nabob, and is celebrated for its stupendous rock of granite, rising within the fort to the height of four hundred and fifty feet, and commanding, from that eminence, an extensive view of the surrounding country. In one direction, the island of Seringham, encircled by the diverging branches of the fertilising Cavery, and conspicuous from its gigantic pyramids and vast and venerated pagoda, forms a rich and magnificent object; while the whole scene is scarcely less memorable as the principal seat of the struggle

[1] Brother to the learned Bishop Newton.

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between the French and English, which has been already adverted to, for the empire of India, and the signal triumphs of British talents and valour. Such was the spot which was about to be rendered doubly interesting by the christian labours of Swartz.

"On my return to Trichinopoly," he observes in his journal, "early in the year 1763, I found that the powder magazine had blown up. Among other Europeans who lost their lives on this occasion, were three very pious men, by whose society and conversation I had often been refreshed." With reference to this calamitous event he addressed a small congregation of Germans from the admonition of our Lord on the fall of the tower of Siloam, Luke xiii. 4, the number of those who perished having been in each case the same. "This event," he adds, "produced a beneficial change in the sentiments and conduct of many of the inhabitants." He made a collection in behalf of the children of those who had suffered by this melancholy catastrophe, which amounted to three hundred and thirty pagodas. This sum he applied to the establishment of an English orphan school, and the necessary books were obtained from Madras and Calcutta.

In the same journal he mentions, that after preaching from Gal. iii. 23, on the different effects produced by the dispensation of the law and that of the Gospel, he administered the Holy Communion to thirteen individuals, among whom was a family which some months before had attached itself to his congregation from the Roman Catholic church, the

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members of which, as they increased in the knowledge of divine truth, exerted themselves in communicating it to others of their acquaintance. During the following month he was engaged in preparing several native converts for baptism, in teaching the children of Europeans to read, and instructing them in the christian religion. He visited the sick in the hospital, and devoted his evenings to friendly conversation with heathens and Roman Catholics, who frequently collected round him in great numbers, listening with pleasure to his instructions.

While he was one day reading an English tract, on the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke, under a shady tree, an old Hindoo, who had often entreated him not to trouble him with his christian tenets, approached him, in company with several others, and begged to know what he was reading. He told him that it was a narrative of the truly paternal conduct of God towards us, and of our refusal to render due obedience to his kind and gentle government; thus abusing his mercies, and bringing upon ourselves distress and misery. Notwithstanding this, there was, he said, a way opened by which we might return to our justly offended Maker, and become partakers of his grace and benediction. The old man being pleased with this parable, he proceeded to relate to him that of the sower, telling him why the seed did not everywhere bring forth good fruit. He comprehended this also perfectly, and asked whether God is not omnipresent. "Yes," he replied; 'He sees every thing that passes on earth, whether

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it be good or evil; but his omnipresence is formidable to the wicked." The Hindoo said, "In my heart, inwardly, I worship God." "If that is the case," rejoined Swartz, "your outward conduct must prove the reverence which you profess to entertain in your heart towards the Almighty. What would you think of a man, who reproached and even struck you, while he pretended that he had cordial love for you in his heart?" The Hindoo confessed that he could not value such love. "Neither," he concluded, "can God accept the homage which you profess to feel inwardly for him, while in your words and conduct you deny and dishonour him."

It was during this visit to Trichinopoly that Swartz became known to Mahomed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic. He was walking in his highness's garden, when the Mahomedan prince himself happened to enter it, and sitting down near a piece of water, he desired him to approach, and offered him some refreshment, which, however, he declined. A few days afterwards, on seeing him again, the nabob accosted and conversed with him in a very friendly manner. His chief minister always behaved with great kindness to the missionary, and often said, "You have no regard for me, for you seldom come to my house." He frequently conversed with this Mahomedan, who, when he found himself closely pressed, and appeared much affected, always broke off the visit abruptly.

Feeling earnestly desirous of rendering himself extensively useful, Swartz at this period applied zealously to the acquisition of the Persian and Hin-

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dostanee languages. The former being that of the Mahomedan court, was held in universal estimation; and his knowledge in the latter soon enabled him clearly to exhibit to the nabob the important doctrines of the Gospel.

About this time the festival of a Hindoo goddess was celebrated by the natives, in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress, which was accompanied with much noise and many strange ceremonies. The moment the missionary approached, they became silent. He availed himself of this interval to direct their attention to the true God, who had created and preserved them, and to whom alone those divine honours and that adoration were due, which they were now paying to a woman, who neither had nor could have done the things which they attributed to her. They listened to his admonition, but when he left them, recommenced their idolatrous ceremonies.

On the 4th of May, in this year, Swartz went to Caroor, twelve miles west from Trichinopoly, for the purpose of instructing some Hindoos of high rank in the christian religion. "They listened," he observes, "with great attention to all that I told them of the supreme excellence of the true God, and of the redemption of mankind from their fallen state by his Son Jesus Christ. The next day I assembled a number of the natives under a tree, and explained to them the christian doctrine. They felt how vain and irrational it was to worship their numerous deities, and fully approved the doctrine of one God, the

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Creator of heaven and earth. I also visited a Brahmin, who was considered the richest inhabitant of the place, who allowed me, without interruption, to expose the folly of idolatry, and then said, 'I also worship God.' We were interrupted by the arrival of a Hindoo, who fell on his face before him. The Brahmin took some ashes, which he spread over the poor man. I told him how wrong he acted in accepting honours which were due to God alone. Enraged at this reproof, he exclaimed, 'Prove that there is only one God.' This I did by directing his attention to the great works of creation. He dismissed me by saying, 'In the same way that we bow before the body of a man, and yet mean to pay respect to his soul, we bow before images, and intend to worship God'—a plausible excuse which has been urged in favour of idolatry in all ages, but which is at once derogatory from the majesty of the Supreme Being, and destructive of all true and acceptable worship.

"Among the Europeans at this place, there were some," says Swartz, "who were very desirous of instruction; I therefore solicited the commanding officer to allow prayers and a sermon to be read to the soldiers every Sunday. To this he willingly consented, requesting me to make a beginning. I gladly complied, and he publicly repeated his promise, that he would have divine service regularly performed." Swartz was evidently an admirer of fine natural scenery, and observes of that part of the country, and particularly near the river, that it was rich and beau-

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tiful, everywhere well watered, even as the garden of the Lord. The neighbouring hills afforded a delightful prospect, and most of their summits were surmounted by a pagoda.

On his return to Trichinopoly on the 15th, he met a Roman Catholic monk clothed in a yellow habit, similar to those worn by the Pagan priests, attended by a man who carried his golden fan, as well as by a drummer and fifer. He had a long conversation with him on the doctrines of Christianity, to which the Roman Catholic assented, but paid no further regard to his observations.

In the course of this month an infectious fever carried off many people, but the pious missionary was mercifully preserved. The Hindoos employed idolatrous incantations for the cure of the sick; but he earnestly admonished them to apply for help to that omnipotent Being, who is alone able to deliver, and who designed, he said, by such dispensations, to draw them to himself.

The only notice which occurs of his proceedings during the interval which elapsed from this period to the time of his removal from Tranquebar, is in the Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for the year 1766. In an extract from a letter of Mr. Hutteman it is stated, that Swartz "had been of infinite service to the English army during the bloody siege of Madura." The event thus referred to, was occasioned by the attempt of the unfortunate Mahomed Issoof to establish his inde-

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pendence in that district.[1] He had been in the Company's service as commandant of the English Sepoys at Trichinopoly, and had been vigorously employed, from the relief of Madras to the fall of Pondicherry, in reducing the refractory Polygars, and other local chiefs in the south of the peninsula. Having proposed to become responsible for the revenue of that part of the country, which, not being as yet in a state of tranquillity and order, was in reality unproductive, and failing in the payment of the stipulated sum, the nabob of the Carnatic and the Madras government proceeded to enforce their claims; and for this purpose, in the month of August 1763, a combined army of natives and British troops marched to Madura. Mahomed Issoof endeavoured by negociation, and by the influence of his friends among the English, to ward off the blow; but finding these efforts unavailing, he resolved on hazarding a struggle in his own defence. Brave and enterprising as he was, his subjugation was by no means easy. He successfully resisted several assaults on the fort, in one of which Major Preston, the commander of the English troops, whom Mahomed had intimately known, and who had assisted Swartz on his first visit to Trichinopoly,[2] unhappily fell in the breach. After honourably restoring the dead body of his former military friend to the British camp, and baffling all the efforts of the besieging army till the month of October 1764, Mahomed Issoof was betrayed by one of his own people into the hands of

[1] Mill's India, vol. iii. p. 344. [2] See p. 131.

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his enemies, and Madura surrendered to the combined forces.

It was during this destructive siege that Swartz is reported to have been signally useful to the English army. The precise nature of his services is not stated; but judging from his subsequent conduct, it is probable that they were not confined to his pious attendance on the sick and wounded, but extended to some substantial benefits, which his growing influence among the natives might have enabled him to render, in facilitating the supplies of the army in a desolated country during a long and protracted contest. That they were highly valuable and justly appreciated, is evident from the acknowledgment which was publicly made of them by the nabob, who, out of a large sum of money assigned to the English army for their assistance in the conquest of Madura, voluntarily presented nine hundred pagodas to Swartz. This sum the disinterested missionary generously devoted to the use of the mission at Trichinopoly, and to the support of the orphan children of English soldiers, who had fallen in that contest.

It was in the year 1766 that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, anxious to extend their influence in India, resolved, in consequence of representations from Tranquebar, on establishing a mission at Trichinopoly. The frequent visits of Swartz to that city, and the favourable manner in which his labours had been received, encouraged the proposal of a settlement there, and, independently of

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his eminent qualifications for usefulness, evidently pointed him out as the most eligible person to be placed in that important station. Deeply as his brethren at Tranquebar regretted the removal of so able and excellent a colleague, they readily acquiesced in this arrangement, which was also sanctioned by the approbation of the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen. He accordingly quitted Tranquebar, and fixed his residence at Trichinopoly. Towards the close of the same year, the Rev. Christian William Gericke, who had been recommended to the Society by professor Francke, and who afterwards proved so faithful and zealous a fellow-labourer, arrived in India as an associate with Mr. Hutteman at Cuddalore.

An early communication from Swartz to the venerable Society with which he was connected, acknowledges "the goodness of God to the poor Hindoos in directing their hearts to establish a mission at Trichinopoly," and expresses "his particular obligations to them for choosing him as their missionary; the duty of which office he humbly hoped God would enable him to perform, to the honour of his holy name." How fully and delightfully this pious hope was realised, will appear in the sequel of these Memoirs.

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CHAPTER V.

Sketch of Swartz and his early proceedings at Trichinopoly, by the late W. Chambers, Esq.—He builds a church at that place—Prayer at its dedication—Mission-house and schools at Trichinopoly—War between Hyder Ali and the great powers of Southern India—Swartz visits his brethren at Tranquebar—Incidents on his journey—His visits to the sick and wounded at Trichinopoly—Conversations with Hindoos and Mahomedans—Letters to friends in Europe—State of Tanjore at that period—The hope of Swartz as to the diffusion of Christianity—Conclusion of his journal for the year 1768.

Of the settlement and early labours of Swartz at Trichinopoly, as well as his talents, disposition, and character, a most interesting and authentic account is contained in the following extracts from a letter to a friend by the late William Chambers, Esq., brother to Sir Robert Chambers, formerly chief justice of Bengal. Mr. Chambers was engaged in the civil service of the East India Company at Madras, but afterwards removed to Calcutta, on being appointed a Master in Chancery by his brother the Chief Justice; and was eminently distinguished by his talents and acquirements, both as a public servant, and as an Oriental scholar, as well as for the superior excellence of his moral and religious character. He was

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for some years a corresponding member of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and took a lively interest in the propagation of Christianity in India, of which his translation of the greater part of the Gospel of St. Matthew into Persian, and the share which he took in the establishment of the mission church at Calcutta, were substantial and important proofs.

The letter from which the following extracts are given, appears to have been written towards the close of Mr. Chambers' life, and to have been intended to comprise a more extensive account of Mr. Swartz's character and labours. It is, unhappily, only a fragment, and was probably interrupted by the premature death which deprived the public and his family of this able and excellent man. Short, however, as it is, it will be found highly valuable and interesting, particularly as containing a most graphic description of the person, habits, and manners of Swartz, by one who enjoyed during many years the high privilege of his intimate friendship, and who was well qualified to appreciate the peculiar excellencies of his character. Mr. Chambers' letter, which is in his own handwriting, without any mention of place or date, and evidently rough and unfinished, commences as follows :—

"My dear Sir,

"As you wish me to give you some account of Mr. Swartz and his evangelical labours on the coast of Coromandel, I sit down to satisfy you, though

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with a deep conviction of my own unfitness to do justice to such a subject.

" In the year 1767 I made a journey from Madras to Trichinopoly, where Mr. Swartz then resided, which first introduced me to his acquaintance. I undertook that journey for the purpose of attaining the Malabar (Tamul) and Persian tongues; and as he was a master of the former, and was studying the latter of these languages, I was naturally desirous to contract an intimacy with him during my stay there, which lasted about two years. In that period, however, it must be confessed I had more opportunities of viewing the evidence of his character than the detail of his work; for being myself engrossed at one time by a long series of ill health, and at others by a course of arduous study, it is not to be supposed that I could have such views of his success, as a clerical character might have had who had accompanied him in his labours and excursions. I must also add, that as the study of the Malabar tongue was to me a subordinate pursuit, my proficiency in that language was not, during my stay at Trichinopoly, such as might enable me to converse largely with those people, so as to judge of their sincerity in the faith which they professed.

" Having premised thus much to show the disadvantages under which I write, I proceed to state to you all that my memory presents to me, of what I then learned, and was witness to, and this I shall endeavour to do with plainness and simplicity.

" I had often heard mention of Mr. Swartz, before

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I went thither, as a man of great zeal and piety, and of considerable attainments in the languages of the country; but as these accounts were in general given me by those who viewed the excellence of a religious character through the medium of popular prejudice, my ideas of him were very imperfect; and as I myself had then scarcely any better rule of judging, a preconceived notion of great strictness and austerity had mixed itself with everything I had heard in his praise. The first sight of him, however, made a complete revolution in my mind as to this point. His garb, indeed, which was pretty well worn, seemed foreign and old-fashioned; but in every other respect his appearance was the reverse of all that could be called forbidding or morose. Figure to yourself a stout well-made man, somewhat above the middle size, erect in his carriage and address, with a complexion rather dark, though healthy, black curled hair, and a manly engaging countenance expressive of unaffected candour, ingenuousness, and benevolence; and you will have an idea of what Mr. Swartz appeared to be at first sight. During the intimacy which I had afterwards the happiness to contract with him, I learnt the following particulars of his past history."

Here Mr. Chambers briefly details the account which has been already more fully given of the birth and education of Swartz, of his employment as a tutor in the orphan house at Halle, and of the proposal made to him to become a missionary; of the interesting deliberation of his father upon this im-

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portant subject, his consent to the plan, and the departure of his son to England for the purpose of embarking for the East Indies. Mr. Chambers then proceeds as follows.

" His first residence in India was at the Danish mission at Tranquebar, where he was initiated into the Tamul (improperly called the Malabar) language, which is the vernacular tongue of almost all the countries that are governed by the nabob of Arcot. As this is the language of an ancient, wealthy, and sagacious people, who have cultivated their own learning assiduously, and have abounded in the arts of life from a remote antiquity, it is of course of great extent, and its pronunciation is at the same time exceedingly difficult to Europeans. Mr. Swartz deeming it necessary, in order to converse with advantage with these people, to be well acquainted with their system of theology, whatever it was, spent *five years*, after he had attained some proficiency in their language, in reading their mythological books only. Hard and irksome as this task must have been to a devout mind, he has reaped this benefit from it, that he can at any time command the attention of the Malabars by allusions to their favourite books and histories, which he never fails to make subservient to the truth. He also learnt at Tranquebar the Portuguese tongue, particularly that dialect of it which is used by the Portuguese who are natives of India. The missionaries have found great numbers of these, in every place at which they have settled, ready to embrace the Protestant faith, or who having already

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embraced it, or been brought up in it as servants to Protestant masters, were in need of instruction and of pastors. Willing, therefore, to seek souls wherever they were to be found, they have all voluntarily added the study of Portuguese to that of Malabar, and preach and instruct in that language also.

"Mr. Swartz, however, while engaged in these pursuits at Tranquebar, found his province there somewhat confined, and therefore sought and obtained permission to go and establish an English mission at Trichinopoly, where the Gospel had not hitherto been preached, at least not for a continuance. He was there happy in a correspondence and frequent intercourse with another young missionary named Dame,[1] who was settled at Tanjore, and was as fervent and zealous as himself. The same spirit and the same pursuit soon drew them into the strictest bond of Christian friendship—the sublimest of all earthly affections. Their prayers, their labours, and their souls, were united in the same glorious and never-dying cause, for which they had both resigned all temporal prospects. But Mr. Swartz did not long enjoy this source of comfort; for being called once suddenly to see his friend, he hastened to Tanjore, and found him dead.

"At Trichinopoly he had much to do, with very narrow means. His whole income was *ten pagodas per month*, or about £48 per annum; and he had no other fund for making a new establishment. I must here, however, observe, that though,

[1] See page 99.

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computing at the usual rate of exchange, one hundred and twenty pagodas must be allowed to be equivalent to £48, yet if we estimate it according to the effective value of money in India and in England, it will not be equal to half that sum. I mean, that a European may live much better in England on £24 per annum than he could in India for one hundred and twenty pagodas. Let us see, then, how he managed with this income. He obtained of the commanding officer, who, perhaps, was ordered to furnish him with quarters, a room in an old Gentoo building, which was just large enough to hold his bed and himself, and in which few men could stand upright. With this apartment he was contented. A dish of rice and vegetables dressed after the manner of the natives was what he could always sit cheerfully down to; and a piece of dimity dyed black, and other materials of the same homely sort, sufficed him for an annual supply of clothing. Thus easily provided as to temporalities, his only care was to 'do the work of an evangelist.' He preached to the natives incessantly, both in the town and in the villages around, and was not long without a congregation of converted Hindoos; and among them three or four who were capable of instructing others, whom he therefore entertained as catechists, and contrived to maintain out of his little income.

"But these were not his only labours at Trichinopoly. He found there a large English garrison without a chaplain; to these, also, he sought to be of

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service by every means in his power. The kindness of his heart, and the unaffected simplicity of his manners, soon procured him a civil reception among them, and he improved this into an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of the English language, with which he was unacquainted at his first coming. After he had made, however, but a small proficiency in English, he undertook to read the service to the garrison on Sundays, and at the same time read them sermons from those of our English divines in whose writings he discovered an evangelical spirit. But since he has attained a more perfect acquaintance with our language, he has proceeded to preach extempore, which I am told he still continues, and is enabled to command the utmost attention in his auditory.

"It is, indeed, astonishing, if we consider the manners of our troops in India, how he has been able to persuade whole garrisons. At first he prevailed upon them to meet in a large apartment in an old Gentoo building; but in time the garrison resolved to subscribe to erect themselves a church; and the money which would have been thought by contractors a very inadequate sum for a public building was so well husbanded, and the materials and work, in consequence of Mr. Swartz's knowledge of the country and its language, were procured so exceedingly cheap, that a very handsome, lofty, and roomy structure was raised out of it."—

Here, it is much to be regretted, Mr. Chambers' able and interesting sketch abruptly terminates.

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Writing, as it is probable, many years after the early period which alone it comprises, during which a constant epistolary correspondence was maintained by these two excellent men, of which considerable extracts will hereafter be given, had he been permitted to complete his intention, a more extensive memoir would nearly have been superseded. Brief, however, as the preceding fragment is, it contains a most faithful and animated outline of Swartz's character and labours, and recognizes those scriptural and sublime principles, and that simple, disinterested, and energetic devotion to the great work in which he had engaged, which so eminently and uniformly distinguished him throughout his long and holy career. The picture which Mr. Chambers has so unaffectedly, yet so powerfully, drawn of his venerated friend at the commencement of his settlement at Trichinopoly, substantially resembles him during every subsequent period of his life. No man ever maintained a more unvarying and consistent course. "Qualis ab incepto processerit," may be justly said to describe his entire history; and the portrait so happily sketched in the preceding letter needs only to be exhibited in detail, and upon a large scale, to present a perfect model of a great christian missionary.

The church which Mr. Chambers mentions as originating in the pious zeal of Swartz and the liberal contributions of the English garrison at Trichinopoly, is said to be capable of holding from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons. Its erection was

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considerably promoted by the patronage and assistance of Colonel Wood, at that time commandant of the fort, and deservedly held in high estimation for his military talents. With this distinguished officer he lived in habits of intimate acquaintance, and dined frequently at his table; when after conversing with his family about half an hour, with that good sense and cheerfulness which were natural to him, he was accustomed to retire to his own apartment. Both Colonel and Mrs. Wood appear to have derived essential benefit from his ministry; and this formed the foundation of that christian friendship, of which some interesting proofs will hereafter be afforded.

The following admirable prayer which Swartz composed and offered up at the dedication of the church at Trichinopoly, on the 18th of May, 1766, is strikingly indicative of his devout and truly christian mind.

"Most gracious God, we humbly rejoice in the assurance of thy holy word, that though thou dwellest not in temples made with hands, yet thou delightest in the children of men, who, as brethren, meet together to confess their sins, to beg thy Divine forgiveness, to implore thy goodness, and to praise thy Holy Name. Be merciful, therefore, unto us, and hear our prayer that we make before thee in this place. As often as we, from henceforth, shall assemble here, let thy Spirit awaken our hearts to seek thy face sincerely, without hypocrisy. As often as we shall hear thy word, let us do

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it with an unfeigned intention to obey and keep it without exception. As often as thy holy sacraments, which are means of entering into a covenant of love and obedience, are administered in this house, O be pleased to make them effectual to the salvation of our souls. And, finally, when strangers, who do not know thy name, hear of all the glorious doctrines and methods of worshipping thee preached in this house, incline, O mercifully incline, their hearts to renounce their abominable idolatry, and to worship thee, O God, in the name of Christ!

"In this manner make this a place where thy name is glorified, thy kingdom sought for, and thy will duly performed.

"Bless all those who have forwarded the building of this house, by kind advices, or charitable contributions. Remember them in mercy during the days of their life, and particularly at the hour of their death. Let them see, at the day of judgment, that their charity has been serviceable to the benefit of many souls.

"Frustrate all the machinations of the devil against this house; preserve it from all dangerous accidents; and let it long be, what we from henceforth humbly shall call it, CHRIST'S CHURCH.

"Hear these our supplications, O Father of mercies, for the sake of our Mediator, and to the glory of thy name!"

Adjoining the church, thus piously consecrated to the worship of God at Trichinopoly, Swartz built a mission house, consisting of a hall and two rooms,

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with suitable offices, and subsequently an English and a Tamul school. In completing these useful and charitable works he expended the salary of £100 per annum which the government of Madras, without any solicitation on his part, had granted him as chaplain to the garrison; after which he expressed his intention, with the approbation of the society in whose service he was engaged, to apply one half of that sum to his own use, and the other to that of his congregation.

Important as he felt this station to be, the pressure upon the Danish mission, in consequence of the loss of two of the elder brethren, led him to intimate to his former friends in Denmark, his wish to return to Tranquebar. This being communicated by the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, while they strongly urged his continuance at Trichinopoly, especially as Professor Francke had just informed them of two other candidates for the Tranquebar mission, the determination of the question was wisely referred by the society to the discretion of Swartz himself, who, in due time, happily announced his intention of remaining as their missionary at Trichinopoly.

The peace which had now subsisted for some years in the south of the Peninsula was, in 1767, disturbed by the ambitious designs of the celebrated Hyder Ali. This extraordinary man, partly by his boldness and military talents, and partly by stratagem and intrigue, had raised himself from an obscure

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and private station, to the sovereignty of Mysore, and was evidently aiming at a more extensive dominion. His rapid progress at length alarmed the great powers of Southern India; and an alliance was formed between the Mahrattas, and Nizam Ali, Subahdar of the Deccan, at whose disposal the English agreed to place an auxiliary force, to check the farther advance of the Mysorean chief. When the army was about to march, Swartz performed divine service in one of the heathen temples at Trichinopoly, which had been converted into an hospital: and from a platform of black polished stones, placed on an elevated spot, he addressed the troops, who were departing on this arduous service. The contest with Hyder Ali was carried on with the fluctuating policy and varying fortunes incident to Indian warfare. During the early part of it, Swartz's friend, Colonel Wood, distinguished himself by successfully repelling Hyder, with a small body of troops against a very superior force, at the fort of Mulwaggle, though he was at a subsequent period unable to maintain his ground against that active and enterprising enemy. In the course of the two years during which the war continued, many opportunities were afforded to the pious missionary of exercising his christian benevolence in attending the sick and wounded from the English camp near Trichinopoly, some interesting notices of which occur in the following extracts from his journal for 1768.

Early in that year he left Trichinopoly, on a visit to his brethren at Tranquebar, taking the opportunity,

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pursuant to his constant custom, of instructing and admonishing the little congregations of Christians, as well as of addressing the unconverted natives, in the different towns and villages through which he passed. Parties of the latter, on a pilgrimage to Parhani, were exhorted to forsake such vain and unprofitable toils; to others, following with apparent indifference, in funeral processions, he pointed out sin as the cause of death, reminded them of their own mortality, and urged them to embrace the true doctrine of life and immortality, through the only Redeemer.

At Ammal-Savadi he describes a noble choultry built by the queen, which comprised beautiful upper apartments, with verandahs, spacious gardens, an avenue and grove, cool during the heat of noon, and a row of houses nearly a mile long, for the residence of a hundred Brahmins, who were daily fed in this splendid establishment, in the midst of which a new pagoda had been erected. Here he announced to the assembled multitude, among whom were a number of young Brahmins, the majesty of the true God, and of the only Mediator between God and men. While expounding the parable of the prodigal son, a Brahmin applied it to himself—"O," said the pious missionary, "that they would arise, and go to their Father!"

Towards the evening of the fourth day of his departure from Trichinopoly, he reached Tranquebar, and found all his brethren well. Here he remained ten days, which he spent in preaching to the three

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congregations, German, Tamul, and Portuguese, in paternal conferences, and in visiting various christian brethren. On taking an affectionate leave of them, he thus records in his journal his pious aspirations: "O that this place, which has been richly favoured and visited of God with the pure revelation of the blessed Gospel, may become full of light and power, so that the whole country may be enlightened! May God, according to the riches of his grace, bless all who plant and water in this place; and especially may he cause the children in the schools to grow up in his fear and favour, that many of them may be transplanted to the conversion of the country!"

On returning to Trichinopoly, he noticed near Kuttalam, a magnificent banian tree, the girth of which measured seventy paces, and the widely spreading branches of which afforded a delicious shade. Here he visited the merchants at their booths, and discoursed to them on God, the supreme Being, on the fall, the Redeemer of men, and the way of salvation. They replied, "It is so written, but who can live thus? Who is able thus to eradicate his desires? We have it also on the palm leaves, but it is impossible to keep it." To this plausible and common objection, even among professed Christians, Swartz answered by pointing out the source from which strength may be derived.

At Adutura one of the catechists who accompanied him, assembled a little group of Christians. "We sat down," he says, "under a tree. Many heathens, among whom were several Brahmins, listened at the

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conclusion to what was addressed to the Christians, in the catechetical form, relative to the method of salvation, that is," as he invariably and most justly represented it, "by true repentance, faith in the divine Saviour Jesus Christ, and godliness springing from a true faith. Not a single heathen made the least disturbance; they listened in silence. Afterwards I addressed them separately, and exhorted them to receive the saving doctrine of the Gospel."

At Combaconum, where, he observes, there are above two hundred pagodas, the people were preparing for the monthly feast before the great temple.[1] His spirit was much moved on beholding their idolatry, and he earnestly appealed to them on the sin and folly of a superstition by which they could not but acknowledge that they were neither enlightened, strengthened, nor comforted. In this place, he says, "We talked ourselves quite weary with various heathen. When the catechist," Sædtinaicken, "read to them our Lord's warning against 'false prophets,' and said something in explanation, a Brahmin declared before all present, 'It is the lust of the eyes and of pleasures that prevents us from embracing the truth.' Many bore testimony that this was true." Upon this honest but humiliating confession Swartz justly observes, "St. Paul enumerates idolatry among 'the works of the flesh,' and corrupt nature does indeed derive support from it in more ways than one. If it were only an error of the *understanding*, the greater number of heathens would already have for-

[1] One of the seven great pagodas of Southern India.

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saken it; but being a work of *the flesh*, and Christianity requiring its crucifixion, they stop there. May divine power rescue them from it, through Jesus Christ!"

At Ayenpottah, where he had many conversations with Mahomedans and heathens, his friend Captain Berg met and accompanied him to Tanjore. Here, he says, "my chief occupation was with our Christians, though I conversed also with Roman Catholics and others. To the Protestant congregations I explained and applied the meritorious sufferings of Jesus Christ, as recorded in the Gospel of St. Mark, and the unspeakable blessing which we derive from them; stirring ourselves up to true repentance, faith in this Saviour, gratitude and love. Never, O Lord Jesus, may it be effaced from my mind how much it cost thee to redeem me!"

During the month of April Swartz was much occupied in visiting the sick and wounded who were sent from the English camp at Trichinopoly. "Here," he observes, "I often found blessed traces of awakening grace. A soldier said that he had been such thirty-two years. I asked him, how long he had served Christ? He wept, and replied, 'Alas! I have not yet entered his service.'"

"An officer," he writes in his journal, "who had previously discovered a great inclination to religion, and entreated me to instruct him catechetically, just as I would an ignorant heathen, in which we had made a beginning, but were interrupted by the war, was brought in mortally wounded. He expressed a

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great desire for instruction. I accordingly visited him daily, and explained to him the chief points in practical Christianity. After a few days he appeared to be something better. He could occasionally take the fresh air, and his appetite returned. Under these circumstances, he gradually yielded to indifference as to religion. He listened, indeed, but not with real earnestness. At length I said to him, 'I see you are quite indifferent. I fear you are deceiving yourself. Your wound is as mortal now as it was fourteen days ago. When you perceive that you are drawing near to your end, you will be terrified to think that you have been so foolish as to allow worldly men to draw you off from the chief concern.' He replied, 'It is true; they have flattered me with the hope that I should recover; but it is not so. I know that my wound is mortal.' After this, he became more earnest in prayer and meditation on the word of God. Before his death, I visited him, prayed with him, and exhorted him to commit himself in faith into the hands of his merciful Saviour. Speaking was painful to him; yet he said he hoped to obtain mercy; and thus he departed, amid the exhortations and prayers of those around him."

Another painfully interesting case of a similar nature occurred shortly afterwards. "A young English officer arrived from the camp in a very weak state, having been already an invalid for some time from a rapid consumption. Having known his previous character, at his father's request I visited him daily—often, indeed, twice a day; led him to the

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knowledge of his sins, and especially to the crucified Saviour, and earnestly besought him to take thought for the salvation of his immortal soul. He now acknowledged what it is to forsake the fountain of living water, and to be immersed in the lusts of the flesh, by which both body and soul are ruined. He prayed and wept. The wretchedness of many young people here is difficult to be described. Of such, how many are in a short space removed into eternity! They arrive in this country, to make, as it is called, their fortunes, and usually go down to the grave under circumstances sorrowful indeed."

It would be unnecessarily diffuse to detail all the conversations which Swartz records in his journals, as held by himself and his catechists at Trichinopoly, and in the surrounding villages, particularly as they must often resemble each other. Some of the more remarkable, however, may prove interesting and useful.

At Ureiur, a village near the fort, his instructions appear to have been so well received, that he was induced to build a small cottage,[1] thatched with leaves of the palmyra tree, to which he might occasionally resort, for the purpose of more frequent and unrestrained intercourse with the natives. Here he one day inquired of some of the Brahmins what they

[1] The nabob's son, when afterwards laying out an extensive garden, ordered this cottage to be taken down, promising to build a better in its stead. Whether he fulfilled this engagement does not, however, appear.

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believed and taught. The eldest replied, 'We teach that God is omnipresent, and is to be found in everything.' 'It is true,' I said; 'God is present everywhere, and to every one of his creatures; but it does not follow from this, that you are to adore and worship every creature. If you regard the heaven, earth, sun, or moon, as evidences of the power, goodness, and wisdom of God, and as teachers that lead to the Creator, you do well: but if you invoke the creature, you ascribe to it the glory which is due to God alone, and fall into idolatry. Besides, the creature is not a perfect, but only a frail image of the Almighty. Can an idol, which is unable to see, speak, or move, adequately set forth to you the majesty, greatness, wisdom, and goodness of the living God?' They acknowledged that it could not. I next demanded of a Brahmin whether he did not perceive that the world was full of sin, and that we should all be found guilty, and how we might obtain forgiveness? He answered, 'Through the mercy of God.' 'You say right,' I resumed; 'but you know that God is righteous, and punishes the wicked; how then can a just God be gracious to such sinful creatures, so as fully to pardon us, and to make us blessed? Upon this I explained to them the doctrine of redemption through Jesus Christ, and earnestly exhorted them to embrace it."

"In one of the pagodas," he writes, "at Puttur, resides a learned Pandaram, who is generally friendly, and does not seem entirely to reject instruction. We both seated ourselves on a bank of

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earth, near a street. This brought together a concourse of inhabitants. The Pandaram said, 'My chief question to you again and again has been this, How shall I arrive at the knowledge of God, whom I cannot see?' I replied, 'It has often been stated to you, that heaven and earth declare the glory of God. Reflect, then, attentively on the creation, and you will soon be convinced that no other than an almighty, all-wise, and all-gracious Being produced it. This Creator we ought, in justice, to reverence and adore; but you render this honour to the creature, and not to the Creator.' 'This,' said he, 'is all good, but it does not satisfy me; this knowledge is not of the kind I seek.' 'Well,' I said, 'do you desire to have a clearer and more perfect knowledge? God has in great goodness afforded it. He has taken compassion on ignorant man, and given freely to him his word, or true law; wherein he has revealed all the doctrines which are necessary to the attainment of everlasting happiness. He has made known to men, rebellious, corrupt, and lost, the Saviour of the world, as the restorer of forfeited blessedness, and the way in which that salvation is to be attained. In short, all that can make us holy and happy is in this word of God made known to mankind. Read and meditate upon it, with prayer to God; so will it become clear to you. Compare it also with your heathen instruction, and the superiority of the divine word will soon be discerned.' 'Still,' said he, 'this is not enough; for even if I read this, I cannot rightly conceive the idea of what God is.' 'Well,'

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I replied, 'one thing is wanting to you; namely, *experience*. Lay your heathenism aside; follow the word of God in every point; and pray to him for light and power. Then I may assure you that you will say, Now I am like one who could not, from any description, understand the nature of honey, but now I have *tasted* it, and know what honey really is.'"

How anxious this excellent missionary was to cherish in himself and his brethren the principles by which alone they could be animated in their self-denying labours, will appear from the following brief notice in his journal.

"August 2. After finishing the catechising of the children in the forenoon, the two catechists returned, and related to me with whom they had conversed, and what had been the purport of their conversations; and how a young man had avowed his willingness to embrace the Gospel. We then began, for our own edification, to meditate on the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy. On occasion of the apostolic wish, 'Grace, mercy, and peace,' we called to mind that a teacher stands in the highest need, daily and hourly, of this threefold fruit of Christ's reconciliation; and that the believing apprehension of this precious grace is best calculated to strengthen him, to render him joyful and courageous in urging upon others salvation through Christ, as well as in cheerfully suffering for his sake."

On the 7th of August he notices the following in-

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structive incidents. "The nabob's second son, who is a genuine disciple of Mahomed, that is, inclined to cruelty, watches narrowly the lives of Europeans; and if he remarks anything wrong, he generally gives it a malicious construction, as if the Mahomedan doctrine rendered people better than the Christian. This young man, observing some Europeans, entered into conversation with them. I was the interpreter. 'It seems remarkable,' said he, 'to me, that Christians are so inclined to card-playing, dancing, and similar amusements, which are contrary to the true law.' One of them answered, 'We think it no sin, but an innocent pastime.' 'Indeed,' said he, 'it is singular you do not consider it sin to spend your time in such amusements, when even the heathen themselves declare it to be sinful. It is certainly wrong to pursue such things, though you are of opinion that there is nothing sinful in them. You,' he continued, addressing one of the party, 'are a cashier; if you do not know the value of money, you inquire and inform yourself on the subject; why, then, do you not examine into *these* things?—the omitting such examination is a sin also. Nay, if you do not know whether it be right or wrong, and yet continue to play, that is still a greater sin. I am sure Padre Swartz would tell you at once that it is sinful, if you would but receive it.' The cashier replied, 'It is better to play a little, than to absorb all one's thoughts on money.' But the young nabob answered him very discreetly on this point, that we are not to justify one sin by another.

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" So artful is he, that he will accost and converse with an European during divine service, and afterwards observe, ' If the man had the least reverence for the worship of God, he would not have allowed himself to be interrupted.'

" On the 15th of this month," continues Swartz, " in the morning I had a conversation with him. He first asked how God was to be served, and how we should pray to him; and censured us for not washing our hands, and taking off our shoes, before prayer. I answered that this was merely a bodily, outward act, which was of no value in the sight of God—that his word requires pure hearts, which abhor all and every sin, and approach him in humility and faith—we could then be assured that our prayer was acceptable to him. One of those present asked, ' From what must the heart be cleansed?' I replied, ' From self-love, from fleshly and worldly lusts; which constitute, according to the first commandment, the real inward nature of idolatry.' The nabob's son said, ' This inward cleansing is very good; but the outward is also necessary, and God is pleased with it, even though the inward cleansing be not perfect.' I replied, ' Not so. You should rather say that God has pleasure in inward purity, though the hands be not washed immediately before prayer.' "

At the close of another conversation, about this time, with some of the poor heathen natives, in which he had been endeavouring to convince them of the sin and folly of their idolatry, and to persuade

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them to embrace the blessed doctrines of the gospel, he thus expresses the genuine kindness of his heart, and affords a beautiful example of the tender earnestness with which the missionary should address them. "At length I said, as I often do to them, 'Do not suppose that I reprove you out of scorn; no, you are my brethren; we are by creation the children of one common Father. It grieves us Christians, that you have forsaken that almighty gracious Father, and have turned to idols who cannot profit you. You know, because you have often heard, that a day of judgment is before us, when we must render up an account. Should you persist in remaining enemies to God, and on that day hear with dismay the sentence of condemnation, I fear you will accuse us Christians of not warning you with sufficient earnestness and fervour. Suffer yourselves, then, to be persuaded, since you see that we want nothing of you, but that you turn with us to God, and be happy.' They all declared that they were convinced of our sincere intentions, and that they would speak further with us."

In October, in a letter to Dr. Francke, after expressing his anxious wish for a second missionary, for the purpose of more extensive usefulness, he writes as follows:

"Though I should much prefer being at Tranquebar, for the enjoyment of the communion of faithful brethren, yet, when I look on our congregations, I feel that my presence is more necessary here. The catechists require daily superintendence and admo-

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nition to prevent them from relapsing into indolence and disorder. The heathen, too, though courteous to Europeans, are apt to behave unkindly to the poor catechists; so that they need countenance and encouragement. With regard to myself, I praise God, who has borne with my weakness, and prospered my labours. During the whole of this year my health has been good; so that my work has been easier to me than at any former period. Many heathens and Catholics have been this year instructed, and received into the congregation. Affliction, both from without and from within, has not failed us; but God has been our helper." He then mentions that many Europeans, not only among the soldiers of the garrison, but of the higher ranks, had been powerfully awakened to a sense of religion. Among others, he notices particularly one young man, who had made a temporary visit to Trichinopoly, and who, though virtuous and well disposed, knew but little of Christ, and of the real value of the Gospel. "He visited me several evenings," says Swartz, "and acknowledged that he was stirred up to greater concern for his salvation. I testified my joy, but observed that he was at present trusting to the sandy foundation of his own righteousness, from which he could derive neither rest nor power. He received all that I said in good part, and began to read his New Testament better; that is, with prayer. Shortly afterwards, he was invited to a gay party, but declined it, which had a good effect on others. He soon learned how the Gospel becomes saving,

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and communicates to man more power unto salvation than any considerations derived merely from the law. He went boldly forth; and when many were displeased that a young man should speak so freely, he gladly bore the cross: and his example has been made a blessing to others." He concludes as follows:

"In my previous letters I mentioned a Mahomedan who had formerly been employed in the highest offices. This man understands Persian most thoroughly, and speaks it excellently. He often visited me of an evening, and gave me a complete idea of the Mahomedan doctrines and discipline, and read to me the rarest books he possessed. I thus learned to express myself in Persian, and to explain the doctrines of Christianity. Some months ago this poor man was put under arrest, and confined to his own house, where he still remains. The nabob's son, a bigoted Mahomedan, says that he had offended his father, and on that account he was imprisoned. Every one, however, believes that it was in consequence of his having *visited me*, and expressed himself in terms too favourable to Christianity. God graciously help us for Christ's sake, and tread down Satan under our feet! The good Lord inwardly strengthen you, and by the comfort flowing from the inestimable mercy of reconciliation, animate you; and may your old age be truly blessed!"

In the report of the Tranquebar Danish missionaries for this year, they advert to the Mahomedan men-

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tioned in the preceding letter, as having been so deeply impressed by the simple reading of the 25th chapter of St. Matthew, that he confessed with tears to Swartz, "I believe Christ as well as yourself;" and added, that a long-established tradition among their learned men expressly stated that the religion of Christ would universally prevail, and that the time appointed for its accomplishment was fast approaching.

In a letter, dated in the same month of October, 1768, addressed to the Secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Swartz, after thanking him for the present of a Persian lexicon, gives a similar account of the old Mahomedan governor as his instructor in that language, and takes occasion, from the circumstance of his arbitrary imprisonment, to notice the frequency of such occurrences, both at Trichinopoly and at Tanjore. He then proceeds to give a detailed account of the government of the latter country, of the wretched state of oppression and ignorance in which the great body of the people were held, and of the numbers, wealth, and influence of the Brahmins.

"The king of Tanjore," he observes, "is, in the estimation of the ignorant, a prince who governs according to his despotic will; but he is, in fact, more a slave than a king. He seldom goes out; and often, when he purposes to do so, the Brahmins tell him that it is not an auspicious day. This is sufficient to confine him to the house. His children are brought up in ignorance; for why should a

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prince learn much? He need not be acquainted with writing and accounts,—for has he not servants enough for this? The number of his wives destroys all domestic peace. The first whom he espouses is denominated his lawful wife. By degrees, however, as he takes more, jealousy among them becomes a source of dangerous disquiet, and the love which should subsist between brethren is banished. So true it is, that when man departs from the ordinances of God, he treads in a thorny path.

"A despotic ruler, being intent only on increasing or preserving his power, entertains a distrust of all his ministers. He considers it expedient, therefore, often to humble them. Though a minister possess his favour for years, he sometimes falls at once. The king permits his house to be plundered, (this has often happened within my remembrance,) and lays him under a domiciliary arrest. No one must visit him, or speak to him. By degrees this severity is relaxed. The ex-minister, thus fallen into disgrace, hunts after the failures of his successor, and endeavours to involve him in the same ruin, and frequently is restored to favour.

"The troops belonging to the Rajah of Tanjore are chiefly cavalry,—about six thousand,—and two thousand foot. The cavalry are not furnished with horses, but each soldier provides his own. He who can collect a hundred horse, is appointed their captain. To these troops a district is assigned, where they receive their pay from the tenants. If they do not give what they demand, they resort to force.

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"The Tanjore country is, however, as a well-watered garden. Notwithstanding all the oppression and injustice, the inhabitants subsist tolerably well: it teems with people. The land is divided into districts, and every district is leased. The lessee is obliged to advance at least the half of his rent; and as he cannot in general do this from his own resources, he borrows of the native merchants or Europeans, and gives forty, or even more, per cent. He borrows also what he requires for the support of his family; and all must be eventually extorted from the poor inhabitants. It may with truth be averred, that the poorer people enrich with their labour the idle and the proud. A cultivator of land in Tanjore, commonly gives sixty or seventy in the hundred. Supposing that he has on his ground a hundred bushels of rice, the king (or the lessee in his name) takes seventy; the remaining thirty are retained by the inhabitant; and with this he has to pay his servants and support his family. Nay, if the king need money, as in time of war, he seizes upon all. I have myself witnessed the poor labourers contemplating at a distance the blessing of God upon the fields, while the king's people have reaped it all. Thus, the oppression being so great, they endeavour, by every possible means, to defraud the king. They are accustomed to say, 'Without stealing, we cannot live.' Hence it may easily be conceived what disposition to the maintenance of justice prevails in this country.

"Under a frame of government so wretched, the education of the young is miserably neglected. Few

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children learn to read, write, and cast accounts; and these are almost exclusively boys. It is a most rare occurrence for a father to afford his daughter the means of education. When taught to read, it is from books in which the fabled epiphanies of their gods, together with all their licentious acts, are delineated. We cannot, they think, be better than our gods; they everywhere practised lying, impurity, injustice, and revenge; these cannot, therefore, be sinful. Thus is the little which they know from reflecting on the works of creation, greatly obscured. In the temples of their deities, their most flagrant actions are described in images and pictures, which sink the people in the depths of vice and misery. The consequences of this devilish instruction are clearly visible. Both body and soul are destroyed. Thousands sensibly feel their errors.

"The children of the Brahmins are commonly better educated. Besides the thousands attached to the idol temples, many of them farm the land, hold offices under the king, and act as clerks, overseers, and accountants. The offspring of the Brahmins are in general clever, and learn languages quickly, especially when they hope to turn it to advantage. Many English gentlemen engage Brahmins to keep their books; and hence a great number acquire the English. Besides this, they learn Persian, and are employed by the nabob and others as interpreters. In every lucrative situation we find a Brahmin. It is remarkable, that within the narrow limits of Tanjore, a hundred thousand vigorous young Brahmins

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might, with very little trouble, be collected. With the exception of their daily ceremonies and ablutions, they do nothing: living in voluptuousness and corrupting sloth. They possess the best land, and give away little or nothing; besides which, the numerous pagan festivals are eminently profitable to them. I asked a wealthy Brahmin whether they imparted to the poor a portion of their great revenues. He replied, 'No: the people give to *us* and the pagodas; but *we* contribute nothing.' What is asserted therefore in one of Mr. Holwell's books, as to the beneficence of the Brahmins, is not to be credited. Some months ago, a Brahmin declared to me plainly, 'The reasons why we do not embrace the christian doctrine, are avarice, pride, and voluptuousness.'

"Meanwhile," adds this excellent man, with something of prophetic hope as to the future progress of Christianity, "we faint not; we know that Christ is ordained as a light to the Gentiles. He is able to dispel this heathen darkness. Confiding in his divine assistance, we go forth diligently among the natives to make known to them the way of life, and affectionately to invite them to the enjoyment of the salvation purchased for them by the Redeemer. The progress of conversion is not so great as we wish; still the rescuing of one single soul (not to mention many) is sufficient to encourage us not to be weary. Who knows to what important end the all-wise God may direct the revolutions which have taken place in India during the last

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twenty years? O that the Europeans in this country would discern the glory of God! Should he graciously work *a thorough change and reformation among the principal Europeans*, a blessing would spread through the whole land. Many salutary regulations might be introduced. Multitudes of abominations might be prevented, and thus the obstacles which have hitherto deterred the natives from embracing the Gospel might be lessened. There are several Englishmen here, who, through the converting grace of God, have been convinced that the knowledge and enjoyment of his loving-kindness are better than life, and consequently better than ill-gotten wealth."

In a letter to a friend in London, Swartz again refers to the same painful topic; and the passage is here introduced chiefly for the purpose of contrasting that representation with the marked improvement in European character which has of late years been universally acknowledged.

"It is extremely difficult," he observes, "when describing our situation here, to give any one a just conception of it without adverting to the profligacy of the Europeans. The great among them aim at nothing but to live in pleasure, and to become rich. If not readily successful in the latter object, they resort to unjust means, the employment of which hardens the mind to so alarming a degree, that they will hear nothing of the word of God, and too frequently plunge into the most frightful infidelity."

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After giving an account of himself and his labours during the year, similar to that contained in the extract from his letter to Professor Francke, he adds, "O may the faithful God grant to me, a feeble creature, his powerful grace more and more, that I may spend my days to his glory, and the benefit of my neighbour. O that I had a dear brother with me; then could many be better instructed! In the mean time God knows our affliction, and our sighs are not hidden from him. May he compassionate the poor heathen, and may his kingdom break forth here graciously!"

Swartz closes his journal for 1768 as follows:

"The conclusion of the year has been very melancholy with respect to political events. All the territory which the English had taken from Hyder-Naick they have again lost. He approached near to Trichinopoly, and would probably have taken it, had not a rain of three days' continuance driven him off.

"God be gracious to us, and further his work! May he cause his countenance to shine upon us, that the heathen may know his ways, believe in him, and adore him as his children in Christ Jesus!"

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CHAPTER VI.

Continuation of hostilities—Zeal and disinterestedness of Swartz—His conference with a Romish Padre—Peace between Hyder Ali and the English—Swartz proceeds to Tanjore—His introduction to the Rajah—His character—Conversation at this interview—Swartz returns to Trichinopoly—His second visit to the Rajah with Colonel Wood—Preaches to the natives on the glacis, and in the fort—The Rajah wishes to converse with him, but is prevented by his Ministers—Swartz's message to the King, and his reply—He returns to Trichinopoly—Mr. Chambers leaves that city—First letters of Swartz to that gentleman—Conversations with the natives, and with the Nabob's son—Attendance on sick Europeans—Visit from two Mahomedans, and conversation respecting Mahomet—Letter from Mr. Chambers to his brother on a translation of the New Testament into Persian—Conversation with a sick soldier, and with natives, heathen and Mahomedan—Reflections of Swartz at the close of the year 1769.

HOSTILITIES still continued during the first three months of the succeeding year, in the midst of which Mr. Swartz visited a detachment of the English army near Trichinopoly, and preached to the troops both in English and German. No sooner had the enemy withdrawn from the surrounding villages, involved by their devastations in ruin, than his zeal and charity prompted him to repair to them to instruct and comfort the distressed inhabitants;

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while he declined accepting a legacy bequeathed to him by an officer to whom he had been eminently useful in religion, lest he should be suspected of interested motives.

Early in February he had a long and friendly discussion with a Romish padre, at the request of an officer's lady at Trichinopoly who professed the Roman Catholic religion, but who had also received instruction from Swartz, and was desirous of hearing what each had to say in support of the differences between the two churches. To the usual question, where Protestantism was before the days of Luther and Henry VIII., he justly replied by referring to the testimony which had been uniformly borne against the papal perversions of divine truth by the Albigenses, John Huss, and the Bohemian brethren, and the followers of Wickliffe; he might have added, by the Syrian Christians in the mountains of Travancore. He then appealed to the word of God; affirming that while Protestants readily receive the testimony of antiquity, their faith in the divine authority of the sacred canon, independent of its internal evidences, does not rest exclusively on that of the Romish church, the word of God having been possessed by thousands before that church, properly so called, existed.

The sophistry of the Papist in defending the worship of saints and images was ably exposed by the pious Lutheran. "If you prostrate yourself before an image, complain to it of your affliction, and desire help, do you not honour it after an idolatrous

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manner? God says in the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make any graven image—thou shalt not bow down to it nor worship it.' The Papist says, 'Thou shalt.' See how Popery opposes itself to God." "The Papist," said the Padre, "is the follower of Peter." "I heartily wish," replied Swartz, "that it were so. Follow Peter, and we from our hearts will rejoice. Peter was humble, and desired no worship when he was in the house of Cornelius.[1] Your new Roman Peter will be worshipped. Examine into it again, my worthy Padre, and follow after God and his word." From this point the conversation proceeded to what he calls the idolatry of the mass, and the refusal of the sacramental cup to the laity, which were but feebly defended by the Romish Padre; to whom, in conclusion, he addressed this brief but solemn warning: "My dear Padre, prove all things by the word of God. You and I shall soon appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, where we shall have to render an account of our ministry and doctrine, and the souls which we have neglected." One of his people called him away several times. "He departed," says Swartz, "wishing that I might become a saint, and I wished him sincerity of heart. The captain's lady was struck with his rejection of our Bible, while he refused to produce his own. May God help her to a clear and saving knowledge of Christ!"

At the beginning of March he attempted a journey to Tanjore; but he had not proceeded far, before

[1] Acts x. 25, 26.

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the enemy's army approached Trichinopoly, and burnt great part of Urejur. Messengers were in consequence despatched to him and his companions, apprising them of their danger. "I turned back," he says, "and beheld Urejur in flames. God be praised for his gracious protection!" The ravages of war, however, having happily terminated in April, by a treaty of peace between Hyder Ali and the Madras government, Swartz resumed his intended journey, and arrived at Tanjore on the 20th of that month. Here he preached daily two or three times, visited the members of the three congregations individually, and attended the schools.

The most important result of this visit to Tanjore was his introduction to the rajah Tuljajee, or, as he was then usually called, the king, and the favourable impression made upon his mind, which led to the kindness and confidence with which that prince ever afterwards distinguished him. The rajah was at that period in the prime of life, of good natural talents, and of mild and dignified manners; indolent and self-indulgent, like the generality of Hindoo princes, but by no means tyrannical or oppressive; and, though too much under the influence of the Brahmins, tolerant and liberal in his views of religion. He is said to have formed an exception to the general ignorance of men of his rank in India, and to have successfully cultivated Sanscrit literature, so as even to have produced some poetical compositions in that language, which are still recited at Tanjore as proofs of his genius and learning. Such

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was the Hindoo prince with whose history that of Swartz is henceforth so intimately interwoven.

"At five in the afternoon of the 30th of April," says the excellent missionary in his journal for 1769, "I was introduced to the king. He was seated on a couch suspended from pillars, surrounded by his principal officers, and opposite to him a seat was placed for me." The conversation began by the Persian interpreter informing Swartz that the king had heard a good report of him; to which he replied in Persian, expressing his thanks for the kindness which he entertained for him, and wishing that God might enrich him abundantly with every blessing. The interpreter omitting to repeat the wish, one who sat by told him, "He wishes you a blessing." "He is a priest," replied the king. Perceiving by the manner in which he made his observation, that he was but imperfectly acquainted with the Persian language, Swartz requested permission to speak in Tamul, at which the rajah appeared pleased.

He first inquired how it happened that some European Christians worshipped God with images, and others without them; to which Swartz answered, that the worship of images was expressly forbidden by the word of God, and that this corrupt practice originated in the neglect of the Holy Scriptures, which had in consequence been removed by such Christians from general use among the people. The rajah next inquired how man could attain to the knowledge of God. In reply to this question, the missionary pointed out, in his usual manner, the

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works of creation, and the bounties of divine Providence, as testifying the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, and his word as clearly revealing whatever is essential to salvation. "If it please the king," said he, "I will set before him briefly the principal subjects of that word." The rajah having signified his assent, Swartz proceeded to explain the nature and divine attributes of God, one of the attendants repeating the explanation of each point very distinctly, slowly, and audibly. He then remonstrated against the worship of idols, as inconsistent with the perfections and glory of God, observing, that before their conversion from heathenism, the European nations also made images, and adored the work of their own hands with salams and salams. The king laughed, for the expression struck him forcibly, and said, "He speaks plain." The pious missionary next shortly urged the corruption into which mankind had fallen, which is visible from universal and melancholy experience; and then unfolded the method of deliverance through the Mediator and Saviour whom God has graciously provided, and his indescribable willingness to receive those who turn to him—illustrating this encouraging assurance by his favourite and appropriate parable of the prodigal son.

Upon the usual introduction of sweetmeats, of which Swartz took a little, he said, "We Christians are in the habit, before we partake of food, of praising God for his goodness, as well as of imploring grace to use the gift to his glory;" and

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on being desired to offer up such a prayer, he immediately complied. With the simplicity and freedom from the apprehension of ridicule which peculiarly characterised him, he then, at the request of the king, who had been informed that Christians were accustomed to sing in celebrating divine worship, sang some verses of the Lutheran hymn, in the Tamul translation of Mr. Fabricius, beginning,

"My God, to thee this heart I bring."

The rajah declared himself much pleased, apologising that he had detained him so long, and desiring him to dine with Captain Berg, who was his constant friend and companion, in the palace. "I withdrew," he adds, "repeating my wishes for his happiness."

Swartz remained at Tanjore about three weeks during this visit, and then returned to Trichinopoly. A few days afterwards the rajah having inquired for him, and being told that he had left Tanjore, said, "I thought he would have stayed with us;" and on being reminded that he had not desired him to remain, he replied, "It is my most earnest wish that he would continue here." Captain Berg having informed him of this favourable disposition of the rajah, Swartz consulted his brethren at Tranquebar, Cuddalore, and Madras, as to the best mode of proceeding, who unanimously advised him to return to Tanjore without delay, in order to ascertain what the rajah's views really were. Accordingly, in the month of June he proceeded thither in company

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with his friend Colonel Wood, who was about to leave Trichinopoly, and whom the rajah was desirous of seeing as he passed through Tanjore. "We set out," he says, "and, on the way, I had many pleasing conferences with the natives. When introduced to the king in the presence of Colonel Wood, he was very friendly. After a few inquiries respecting the welfare of the colonel and his family, he asked me what was the design of our celebrating Sunday. I explained to him the command of God relative to the consecration of the Sabbath, and his merciful intention in giving it, namely, to make us holy and happy, by devoting it to the concerns of our souls. He then inquired why we Christians did not anoint ourselves as they did. I replied, that the heathen thought they were thereby purified from sin; but that we knew that sin could not thus be removed —that God had provided a more effectual remedy by sending a mighty Saviour who had taken away our sins by the sacrifice of himself; and that we must seek forgiveness through faith in this Redeemer.

"He then asked some questions respecting the king of England, and expressed a wish to visit our country. I took occasion, in reply, to say something concerning the religion which is there taught, and how much it contributes to the welfare both of princes and people; adding, "This is our wish, that you and your subjects may embrace it to your present and eternal happiness. The king looked at me, and smiled. His chief Brahmin often interposed, and told him what he had seen among the Papists at

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Pondicherry; to which he replied that we were very different from the Papists. He then desired me to speak to the Brahmin in Persian, which I did, and addressed a short admonition to him; but he professed to have forgotten his Persian. Here the conversation ended, and we took our leave. I accompanied Colonel Wood a day's journey beyond the river; and parted from him and his lady, who is powerfully awakened to religion, with prayer. They were both greatly affected. May God mightily carry on the work he has begun in them, and bring it to a glorious issue!"

After this interesting conference with the rajah, not having as yet received permission to enter the fort, Swartz repaired daily, early and late, to the glacis near it, and addressed the natives, who in great numbers surrounded him. Frequently, from the violence of the land wind, he was covered with the dust which flew around: he generally spoke upon the great subjects of repentance, faith, and reconciliation with God, through Jesus Christ, till he was quite exhausted. Sometimes he expounded the parables by which our Saviour displayed the treasures of the kingdom of heaven, and the means of attaining them. The people commended his doctrine, and often said, "O that the king would embrace it! All would then forsake heathenism." At the end of a fortnight he received an unlimited permission to enter the fort whenever he was disposed. He in consequence visited the principal officers of the rajah, and fully declared to them the

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Gospel of Christ. One of them having offered him a present, he civilly declined it, requesting him, and those who were assembled, not to be offended at his refusal, as he was only anxious not to interpose any obstacle to their reception of Christianity, by giving occasion to any to suspect him of interested motives. "He who tendered me the present," says this wise and excellent man, "replied, that he should never think this of me." I answered, "That may be; but you cannot prevent others from thinking thus; I seek the good of your souls, and not gifts. I accepted a nosegay, and so we parted."

Sometimes he went through the principal streets of the fort, when many of the inhabitants, Brahmins and others, collected around him, and listened for a long time. One of the Brahmins observed, "You allure the people with money." "I replied," said Swartz, before the whole multitude, "Prove to me that either I or my brethren at Tranquebar have decoyed a single heathen to us with money, and I will hold my tongue." It was said, that when speaking one day before the palace, the rajah stationed himself in an upper room, and after listening to his address, observed, "He makes out our gods to be downright demons! We must keep him here to instruct this foolish people." Upon another occasion when near the palace, the king sent to desire him not to quit the fort, as he wished to speak with him. Upon this a number of Brahmins and others belonging to the court hastened to the palace, and Swartz prepared himself for the interview; but the chief

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Brahmin, who had the control of the revenue, came and diverted the king from his purpose. He sent, however, to tell him that he would speak to him in the evening; but again he was prevented. "The poor king," he observes, in a letter to Dr. Francke, in which he briefly mentions this remarkable visit to Tanjore, "sits, as it were, in a prison. His officers deceive him and the whole country, and resist to the utmost the settlement of a missionary here. "Many," he says in his journal, "even of the Brahmins themselves, said that the king would gladly have had me with him, but he was afraid of the people around him. The great about the court saw, with regret, that he was desirous of detaining me, being fearful lest their corrupt practices might be exposed. At length I visited one of his principal officers, and after declaring to him the Gospel of Christ, I begged to make my humble salam to the king, and to ask what was his purpose with regard to me; that I was come at his gracious summons, ready to serve him from my heart in the cause of God; but that as I had an engagement at Trichinopoly, it would be necessary that some one should take charge of my duty there, if I were to remain at Tanjore. I requested therefore to know the king's intention. The answer which I received the next day was this; that I might return for this time to Trichinopoly, but that I was to remember that the king looked upon me as *his padre.* Many," he adds, "of the common people were grieved that the king should allow himself to be hin-

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dered by his servants from detaining me near him. But God can, and in his own time will, cause this nation to adore and fear his name. May He compassionate this poor people, now lying in darkness and the shadow of death, for his name's sake!"

Such is the account which Swartz gives in his journal, as well as in letters to Dr. Francke and the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, of his first interviews with the Rajah of Tanjore, which led to his subsequent establishment and favourable reception as a missionary in that kingdom. In the month of July he returned to Trichinopoly, and resumed his ordinary labours among the Christians and heathens of that city.

Soon afterwards Mr. W. Chambers, who had resided there during the two preceding years, was recalled to Madras. The sentiments and pursuits of these two excellent men were so congenial, that a cordial friendship, founded upon christian principles, was the result of their intercourse with each other, which was cherished by a regular correspondence from this period to the death of Mr. Chambers, in the year 1793. With the exception of occasional letters to a few eminent persons, chiefly in Germany, which were almost considered as points of official duty, Swartz was not accustomed to write much in detail, even to his most intimate friends. His time was too fully occupied with the various labours of his mission, to allow of his indulging in an extensive correspondence. His letters were, therefore, in general brief, and relating, for the most part, to ordinary cir-

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cumstances and concerns; but they are all strikingly characteristic of his habitual and elevated piety, his fine manly sense, his genuine benevolence, and his affectionate desire for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his friends and all around him.

The following are two of his earliest letters to Mr. Chambers; and when it is considered how comparatively recent was his acquaintance with the English language, the general ease and correctness of his style must be deemed extraordinary.

"My Dear Friend,

"Five days ago I received your agreeable letter, and praise God for all the mercies he has bestowed on you in your journey, and on your arrival at Madras. I doubt not but he will multiply his favours according to his wonted mercy. In your new station you will need his gracious assistance. You have had some specimens of the Malabar people's sad art of evading truth, and of affirming lies with the boldest countenance. This little experience will help you in some respects, at least so far as to make you cautious.

"But our caution, what doth it avail, unassisted by divine grace? May the Spirit of Jesus Christ strengthen and comfort you every moment! What you write touching the clergyman[1] is doleful indeed. But you know that sort of people, when they refuse

[1] Probably referring to one of those who at this period were but too frequently unworthy members of the sacred profession.

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to accept of divine grace, have always been the worst of enemies to the promotion of the cause of Christ, as all history declares, and particularly that of the sufferings of Christ. I hear there is another lately arrived. O that he may be a disciple of the humble Jesus!

"Many people went from hence to Madras, white and black, to the court-martial, which seems now likely to take place.[1] You are on the spot. May you be serviceable! I wish and pray a gracious God may help our friend, to behave, in all circumstances, as a true disciple of the meek and holy Jesus. A great degree of true humility, denial of himself, presence of mind, in short, nothing less than divine grace, will be able to carry him through his present troubles with a clear and clean conscience. Pray often for him. We will here entreat the Lord likewise to glorify his name in this affair. Mr. Green was taken ill the very day your letter arrived; but he is now better, and desires to be remembered by you. Your George begins to write. He seems to promise well in that respect. At present I am building a verandah and a little chamber for Mr. Green. This has hindered me from employing the carpenter to make your palanquin.

"Farewell, my friend; and whenever you appear before the throne of Christ, remember your fellow

[1] This refers to an investigation into the military conduct of Colonel Wood in the campaign with Hyder Ali, subsequent to the battle of Mulwagle, in which he signally defeated the Mysorean chief.

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pilgrims at Trichinopoly. Salute in the Lord all our friends, particularly the colonel and Mrs. Wood and the little ones.

"I am, dear friend,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, 8th Sept. 1769."

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"It is a long time since I received your kind letter. The evening hour which I used to spend in writing letters, as you know, I have spent a long time with Mr. U., who was more than once on the borders of eternity. Often he could hardly pronounce a word. I admonished him to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. He was always glad to see me, and joined in prayer, nay sometimes, at least once, he entreated me to pray with him. At present he is in a way of recovery, and I think not ———. I cannot write more; since what passeth between a clergyman and a sick person ought not to be divulged. But O the heart of man! So far I may tell you, that we were very plain. May God have mercy on him and us all! The heart of man is fickle beyond expression. Christian stedfastness is a glorious grace springing from the enjoyment of the redemption. In proportion as we enjoy its precious fruits, particularly pardon and peace, we obtain confidence in God, and count all things but loss, that we may win Christ, and be found in him.

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"Concerning the palanquin, the carpenter would have gladly done it, but to this day I have not got a plank from Tranquebar, though they promised to send them as soon as they arrived from the Malabar coast, which would certainly be at the beginning of October. The bamboo I hope to get soon. Write me in your next how I shall send it you.

"How do you go on in the Persian language? Where do you live? How is the new clergyman? Have you not yet met with one who dares to be good at Madras? Here at Trichinopoly is great coldness. Mrs. —— and I are exactly as strangers. I have seen her twice or thrice at her house, but she takes care not to be molested. Every Monday there is a concert at her house, and daily more than one card-table. The altar-piece is finished.[1] It is done, as they say, very well. In the Persian we have several passages;[2] as, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.' John xvi. 23. John xvii. 3. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' &c. 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' How is everything in the colonel's house carried on? Can you see that they go forward in their pilgrimage?

[1] For his new church at Trichinopoly.

[2] The texts of Scripture which Swartz mentions were inscribed in gold characters, and are probably the only specimen of his composition in that language, which he spoke fluently. The first of them must have been peculiarly obnoxious to the pride and bigotry of the Mahomedans, who were at that period very powerful at Trichinopoly.

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"We think of you often in prayer. May Jesus Christ strengthen you to fight the good fight of faith, laying hold on eternal life!

"I am sincerely, dear friend,

"Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, Nov. 6th, 1769."

"Saruvaien and Sadtinaicken are upon a journey near the Kaller, to preach the Gospel to the poor Gentiles and Papists. Thy kingdom come!"

The allusion in the preceding postscript to the labours of his two catechists may with propriety introduce a few additional notices of his own from his journal during the remainder of the year.

In November, being at Urejur, near a stone choultry, which was full of idols, Swartz met some natives, who wished to refer to him a dispute in which they were engaged. He said, with his wonted wisdom, "You contend with one another for trifles, and cannot brook the loss of small things; but the loss of your souls, and their eternal welfare, you leave out of sight. Begin to care for better things!"

The next day he visited some of the natives who were on the corn floor, employed in cleaning the rice which they had that morning reaped. "The process," he observes, "is very simple. The grain is cut in the morning; it then lies a short time on the field, and soon after it is carried to the floor. They grasp a good handful, beat it three or four times against

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the ground, clean, winnow, and measure it. The nabob takes sixty out of one hundred parts, the tenant forty; out of which he must pay the labourers. Here," says Swartz, "sat a number of the inhabitants, and looked on as the rice was winnowed. I sat down with them, and explained to them the Gospel of Christ, and invited them to a participation of the blessing of grace."

At another place he conversed with two gardeners, and pointed out to them the way of becoming spiritually fruitful. They said, "We have not yet obeyed our own shasters: how should we now keep the true law? When we leave you, we forget what we have heard." They were told that they must pray to God. "How," said they, "are we to pray?" "Act," replied Swartz, "like starving beggars. Do not they know how to set forth their hunger and distress? Set before God your ignorance, obduracy, and misery, and beseech him to open your eyes to discern him and his true word. This you may do, even in the midst of your labours. But come also and allow yourselves to be instructed. Try this for ten days; it will assuredly be better with you if you follow this advice. *Consider that in a few days, perhaps, you may be happy or miserable for ever;* give, therefore, all diligence, and seek your everlasting salvation. They appeared friendly, and left me."

"On the 8th of November," he writes, "I spoke with the nabob's son, who at present commands the regiment stationed here and in the surrounding dis-

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tricts, which, it is reported, he farms of his father for an immense sum of money. He was accompanied by his priest, and said to me, 'Padre, let this priest answer you a question!' I said, 'The great question is, How shall we be freed from sin; from its dominion, as well as its punishment?' The priest being unable to express himself with facility in Persian, the Nabob's son himself replied, 'Hate and forsake anger, sensuality, envy, and so you will be clean.' I said, 'You require life from the dead. Say to a dead man, walk! and see if he will obey.' He said, 'What is not done deliberately, will not be imputed to us.' I answered, 'You separate the holiness from the goodness of God. He will doubtless forgive, but in such a way as that his holiness be not thereby obscured,—namely, through Jesus Christ.' 'Certainly,' he said, 'we must confide in God, so as to fear him.'"

The pious missionary next mentions his attendance on two sick Europeans, one of whom appeared to be effectually changed and converted by the grace of God from a life of worldliness and sin to deep humility, self-denial, and willingness to bear the cross. The other, a person of rank, suddenly brought, by one of the prevalent diseases of the country, to the very brink of the grave, he visited almost daily for a fortnight after evening prayers. At length he began to recover a little strength, when Swartz represented to him how mercifully God had spared him, and how anxious he should be to express his gratitude, and his determination to live henceforth as

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a real Christian; urging him particularly to receive the holy communion. "His answer was, that he could not resolve upon this in India, because such was the state of things here, that one often felt compelled to act in opposition to conscience; but that if he returned home, he would communicate.' I replied, 'If you are not in a state to partake of the Holy Supper in India, you are not in a condition to die happily here.' 'He did not live,' he said, 'in open sin, and committed himself to the mercy of God.' I conversed with him much afterwards," he adds; "but he heard all in silence, just as the heathens do, without any satisfactory reply. But so it is with the best of mere natural men. May God help us!"

The next day two Mahomedans visited him. One of them maintained himself by teaching the Persian language. In reply to a question, as to the christian doctrine respecting the distinction of meats, Swartz observed that every creature of God was good, and desired him to read the 15th chapter of St. Matthew, from the Persian Evangelistarium. "I now see," he said, "what it is that defiles men." To his inquiry as to the general doctrine which he taught, he replied, "that he explained the commands of God, and proved the transgressions and corruptions of mankind; that, notwithstanding, God pities sinners, and to every one who penitently confesses and renounces his sin, will, for Christ's sake, impart forgiveness; and that this grace of God should be improved as the principle of a holy life. The man beginning to speak of Mahomed, Swartz said, "What then is a

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prophet?" "One," he answered, "who brings us an account of God." "How do you know that Mahomed's account of God comes from him?" "From the wonders he performed." "But he himself denies, in his Koran, that he came to work miracles." "He cleft the moon," said the Mahomedan. "Such a miracle," I replied, "must have been remarked by other nations. Besides, it is not God's method, when he sends an extraordinary prophet, to authorise him to work only one miracle, and that in secret, or only in the presence of a few friends. No. To such a prophet, he often gives power to do many wonderful works in public places, and before both friends and enemies. Here, however, Mahomed looks suspicious. Further, it is no proof of a divine mission, when one who professes to be a prophet denounces all the undoubted revelations which God had previously vouchsafed by his servants, as obsolete and superseded. Thus did not the Lord Jesus. *He* came to fulfil all, and to disown nothing. Moses is edifying to us, even now, for he foretold the Redeemer of the world, as did also David, and the other prophets." Swartz then charged Mahomed with having taken from the pure word of God, by representing Christ merely as a prophet, and thus depriving mankind of their greatest consolation in him as a Saviour, and of having added to it, by his allowance of polygamy. And in reply to the Mahomedan's objection from the examples of David and Solomon, he said, "that they had fallen into errors and sins, which David, at least, confessed, and that

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the rule of the Gospel with respect to marriage was clear and peremptory." "Why, then," said he, "did not the Jews believe in Jesus?" "Read," I replied, "John v. verse 31, to the end." Here I was obliged to leave him to attend divine worship, and he said he would also go to prayer, and so we parted. "Oh!" said he, "that you had the whole New Testament in the Persian language!" I replied, "If you will assist me with your knowledge of Persian, we can well make such a translation for ourselves." He promised faithfully to assist.

The subject of this latter suggestion had often occupied the attention of Swartz, and of his friend Mr. W. Chambers, who, in a letter to his brother, afterwards Sir Robert Chambers, written during his visit to Trichinopoly, thus adverts to their mutual anxiety to obtain a translation of the entire New Testament into the Persian language.

"I told you in a former letter, that Mr. Swartz had struck into a new path at this place, by having already made himself master of the Hindostanee language, and continuing to acquire a knowledge of the Persian. As he was upon this plan when I came up about seven months ago, he was very well pleased with my having brought with me the Persian Gospels; and these, I assure you, are read with such profound veneration and attention by the more learned Mahomedans, as would surprise you. But Mr. Swartz, though he could not but acknowledge the advantage these gave him in showing the fun-

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damental doctrines of our religion, yet has often lamented his want of the latter part of the New Testament, in which alone the application of those doctrines is to be found. Indeed, the sophistical questions they so frequently put to us, in perusing the 'Ingeel,' (as they call it,) do but too plainly discover to us the disadvantage of not being possessed of a *complete Persian New Testament*. Mr. Swartz is a man of such extensive learning, of such strength of judgment, is of so regular a conduct, so cheerful a disposition, and such sincere piety, that I think there can scarcely be a man more likely to succeed in such an undertaking as this is, if he had only the proper means. He has already written to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, to beg they may supply him with some books, and particularly t complete New Testament in this language, if such a thing can be procured. But I believe his modesty, in the infancy of such a scheme, has prevented his descanting so largely upon it as he would, if he were to open his mind. He has declared to me, however, with some energy, that he thought if some hundred impressions of the Persian New Testament, in a portable volume, without any translation, could be printed off in England, either by subscription or any other means, they might be dispersed in this country amongst the Moors, in all human probability to great advantage.[1] The son of the Nabob said to him one day—'Padre, we always regarded you Europeans

[1] This is a striking anticipation of the opinion afterwards expressed upon this subject by the late Sir William Jones.

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as a most irreligious race of men, unacquainted even with the nature of *prayer*, till *you* came and told us you had good people amongst you in Europe; since you are come here, indeed, we begin to think better of you!' Both he (Mr. Swartz) and your humble servant, begin now to be a little known among them; but I assure you, at first they seemed vastly surprised to find there was anything rational in our faith, or that any of us pretended to holiness of life. Mahomed Panáh (the Moorman I mentioned in a former letter) agreed once so far with us, and talked so loudly in praise of the 'Ingeel,' even before his own countrymen, that I really thought he was going to turn Christian. Mr. Swartz happening to tell him the circumstance within his knowledge of an Englishman having sent back some valuables from scruples of conscience,—he, (Mahomed,) in a large company of Moormen of rank, began to talk highly of our 'Eemáhu,' (faith and religion,) and as a proof of the excellence of it, brought up this very circumstance; and at the end of the narration he exclaimed, 'There's an *Eemáhu* for you! where shall we find a Mussulman that would do so?' He talked at this rate so long and so strenuously, that there was an universal report amongst the Moormen, even to the nabob, that Mahomed Panáh was going to be a convert of Mr. Swartz; and upon this he found himself deserted by all his acquaintance, particularly his great ones, that before had reverenced him for his learning. This the old man had not strength to bear; and resigning himself up to that passion which

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gets hold of us all in some degree, 'the fear of man,' he tacked about, and has ever since, in the presence of his countrymen, disputed against some of the principal points of Christianity with all his usual sophistry.

"Who knows, however, what such a man might have done before now, if he had but had one more to keep him in countenance? and who can say that he might not have had many more, if the New Testament had been known among them? All I have to beg of you, is, that you will procure for me *one* Persian Testament at least, if possible; and as for the other scheme, you best know whether you can at all promote it. I am well aware of the difficulty of bringing any such thing about in the present age, and therefore scarcely know what to say to you upon the subject: you have the state of the case, however, and it is your particular province, you know, to discuss the merits of it. One thing you may do, perhaps, viz.; if you are acquainted with any of the members of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, you may back what Mr. Swartz has said in his letter with what I have said in this; and he, as well as the religion we profess, will both be much obliged to you. To a friend, what can I say more?"[1]

Though the early zeal of Swartz and Mr. Chambers, and the subsequent attempts of the latter, were not successful in the important object to which

[1] The usual conclusion of all Persian letters.

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the preceding letter refers, it is gratifying to know that more than one faithful translation of the New Testament into the Persian language has long since been distributed in India,[1] and that many Mahomedans have been convinced of its divine inspiration, and instructed in its sacred truths by means of those invaluable works.

The testimony of the Nabob's son, to the distinguished piety of the excellent missionary, as incidentally mentioned by his young friend, who afterwards, like him, contributed to raise the estimate of the European character in the native mind, will not fail to be appreciated as it deserves.

With what wisdom and kindness Swartz expounded the doctrines of the Gospel, his journals requently testify. Thus he relieved the fears which our Lord's declaration (John vi. 44, "No man can come unto me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him,") had excited in the mind of a sick soldier in the hospital at Urejur, who had been religiously disposed in Europe, but whose good impressions had been much effaced in India. "Well," I said, "does not the Father draw you by the word of his gracious Gospel, when you read what Christ has done and suffered for you, what blessings he has obtained for you, what promises he has given you, what help he has offered you, what divine exhortations he has addressed to you? Does not the Father draw you by all these? But you expect everything without using the appointed means. Humbly im-

[1] Particularly that of the lamented Henry Martyn.

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prove those means, and confide in him that he will impart to you more and more grace."

"On the 13th and two following days of November," says this pious and grateful observer of Divine Providence, "I was engaged only with the children in the schools, and with a sick person; the almost incessant rain preventing me from going out. The gracious God has copiously refreshed this district, so that the high lands, which cannot be watered by the river, are rendered fruitful by the showers. Praised be God! On the 20th, I went out early. It was a peculiarly pleasant morning; the beams of the sun, after the late rains, being doubly reviving. A heathen came to me, whom I affectionately entreated not to neglect so good a God, who created, preserves, and redeemed us. During this month the Brahmins and others repair to the river to bathe. On the 21st, a vast multitude being assembled, I suggested to the Brahmins, whether their outward washings could purify; and added, that the great God had indeed provided and revealed to mankind a divine method of purification from sin.

"The next day, after pointing out to a party of attentive hearers the sin and folly of idolatry, and explaining the leading doctrines of divine truth, a Brahmin said, 'We also have books and priests, and we must not depart from them. You do well to believe your law, and to instruct the ignorant; but that we, who have learned something, should go over to you, can never be.' 'If a blind man,' I replied, 'pretend to show others the way, both must fall into

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the ditch. You have priests; but prove whether what they teach be truth or falsehood, light or darkness. To what purpose has God given you understanding? Pray to him also that he would guide you to the knowledge of the truth. You well know how your priests instruct. You will shortly have a festival at Seringham, during which they will exhibit the obscene images and actions of your idols. Do you call that instructing in what is good? Look at the effects which such instructions produce. Is not your country overwhelmed with impurity?' Upon this we seated ourselves under a tree, and I expounded and applied to them the parable of the prodigal son.

"I again visited the sick in the hospital. Some thought that this school of the cross had not been unblessed to them. In the afternoon I was called to an officer of the nabob, who was born in the principality of Halberstadt. He was very ill, and his mind much distressed. An imprudent marriage, against which I had earnestly warned him, had injured him much both in body and soul, which he now deeply lamented. I directed him to Christ, and his blood of reconciliation, by which all our sins can be blotted out, and prayed with him."

"December. A Mahomedan from the north, who wished to be a chief priest, visited me with his wife. We sat down before the church-door. He inquired concerning the christian doctrine, when that of the atonement was chiefly insisted on. He said, 'My mind is truly in doubt and anxiety.' 'Turn, then,'

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I replied, 'to Him who can and will relieve you.' His followers went into the church, and performed their evening devotions kneeling. This man has since visited me only twice. 'The nabob,' said another Mahomedan near him, 'is against it. What can we do?' To this a third, who is in the nabob's confidence, assented. When I asked him, therefore, afterwards, why he never came to me—'The times are such,' said he, 'that whoever converses with you must suffer for it.'"

"Many among the heathen, also," Swartz observes in his letters to Dr. Francke and to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, "have owned themselves convinced in their hearts of the truth of the christian religion, but the cross which they must take up as soon as they embrace Christianity, deters them from a public profession of it." Notwithstanding these difficulties and discouragements, he adds, "I have baptized twenty-five adults in the course of this year, received several Roman Catholics into the Protestant church, and five children have been born in the congregations. Some, especially of the women, so conduct themselves, that I have a good hope that the word of God has not been preached to them in vain. We exhort one another to this end, and trust that God will, according to his goodness, permit us to behold with rejoicing the days of harvest."

"At the sacred festival of Christmas," thus he concludes his journal for the year 1769, "we endeavoured to stir up ourselves and the congregations

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to faith, love, and thankfulness, by the blessed Gospel of the unspeakable love of God, as it is manifested in the incarnation of Christ;" and in a short letter, dated December 23, in which he informs his friend Mr. Chambers that he had despatched the furniture which he had left at Trichinopoly, he thus expresses his grateful emotions on the return of that hallowed season:

"I wish you may enjoy the fulness of grace purchased for us by Jesus Christ. May the good tidings raise your heart to holy joy, thankfulness, and love! Remember me to all our friends."

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CHAPTER VII.

Swartz's general occupations during the year 1770—Conversion of a Pandaram—Journey to Madras and Cuddalore—Letters to Mr. Chambers—Devotional service with English soldiers at Trichinopoly—Further Letters to Mr. Chambers—Visit to Tanjore—Extracts from his journal of conversations with natives—Return to Trichinopoly—Swartz visits the great mosque, and addresses the Mahomedans—Letter to Dr. Knapp, with a sketch of the proceedings of the year—Excitement of the Roman Catholics in Tanjore—His anxiety for a colleague.

THE year 1770 was spent, like the preceding, in diligent labours among the heathen and others, and in visiting his christian brethren. "From the commencement to the end of this year," he observes in his journal, "the gospel of God reconciled to us in Christ has been preached to the poor heathen in Trichinopoly, Seringham, and the surrounding villages. Daily, morning and afternoon, have the catechists gone forth, and sowed the seed of the word of God. In the afternoons I have myself accompanied one of them. The conviction among many thousand heathen and Roman Catholics is certainly remarkable, so that they even speak of it among one another. The fear of man, however, and other

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similar causes, keep them back. Norwithstanding, may God yet have mercy on them! In addition to my employment in the schools throughout the year, except during two months in which I travelled to Madras, I have in the mornings held preparations with various natives, heathen and Roman Catholic, for receiving them into the communion of our church."

With respect to some of his converts, he reports the most pleasing and satisfactory proofs of sincerity; while, as to others, he with equal ingenuousness acknowledges the superficial and temporary nature of their profession of Christianity. Among other instances of success he particularly mentions the following.

"A young Pandaram, who for nearly seven years had resorted to all the celebrated pagodas and reputed sacred waters, without finding rest to his soul, was accosted by us one afternoon near the river. He had, he said, often entertained doubts as to the whole of the heathen ceremonies. A Roman Catholic had given him a little brazen crucifix; this he had carried about him, and often, as he told us, had placed it before him, and worshipped. 'To-day,' he said, 'I was at the river, and beholding the numerous pagodas of Seringham, I thought within myself, What is all this? What can it avail? Just as I was thinking thus, your catechists approached and recommended Christianity to me. I will now see what effect your doctrines will have. If I discover in them anything better than I have found in heathenism, I will cheerful-

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ly embrace them.' We recommended him to remain with us a fortnight, and attend to the Christian doctrines with becoming seriousness and prayer; honestly to state the doubts he might at any time entertain; and when he had in some degree ascertained the nature of Christianity, to determine what he would do. He was pleased with the proposal, and attended daily to what was addressed to those who were under a course of catechetical preparation; and at length voluntarily laid aside his Pandaram's habit, and gave up his string of a particular kind of corn, which both Pagans and Romish Christians use as a rosary. He learned with diligence, and began to pray, being daily present when I prayed with my servant morning and evening. After holy baptism, he requested that an opportunity might be afforded him of again learning to read, which he had been previously taught, but had forgotten. He has now been with us four months, and nothing inconsistent has been perceived in him. The knowledge of Christ will render him truly zealous and sincere."

The journey to Madras, alluded to in the preceding extract, occupied the months of February and March: "but as I did not keep a perfect diary," says this conscientious missionary in his journal for the year, "I have passed it by, from an apprehension that much might now be written that was not accurate, and consequently not according to truth. On the whole journey, repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, were proclaimed to the heathen and to the Roman Catholics; and at the request

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of my brethren I visited the different and distant congregations in the country, in order to impress upon their hearts a word of exhortation."

From Cuddalore, on his return to Trichinopoly, Swartz thus addressed his friend Mr. Chambers.

"DEAR SIR,

"I arrived here yesterday in the afternoon. Your boys[1] have behaved very well, so that I safely praise them in that respect. They have had many a word of exhortation. You have heard, perhaps, that Mr. Obeck[2] is to change his place. He has been hitherto employed by Mr. Huttemann as schoolmaster; but now, as the school here is decreasing, he will go to Vepery to assist our brethren there.

"In my journey I have frequently considered your synagogue, (remember me to the gentleman who used that fine expression,) and wished you divine blessing. But as in every Jewish synagogue at least ten persons were requisite to keep up divine service, so I wish you may increase in ten times ten hundred, and if possible, thousand. Let Jesus be your high priest and preacher. Grow in him, and what I told you last, keep in memory, or rather in constant practice. Read frequently John xvii. 3, 11, 15, 16, 21; *ἵνα πάντες ἕν ὦσι, καθὼς σὺ πάτερ ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν σοὶ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἕν ὦσι, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύσῃ ὅτι*

[1] Natives, whom Mr. Chambers was educating.

[2] An account of the latter years of this pious man is given in the Memoirs of Dr. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 274.

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σὺ με ἀπέστειλας. Let us, therefore, according to that heavenly pattern and divine admonition, strive to be one—

" One in doctrine,
One in adhering to Christ,
One in loving him,
One in despising and renouncing the world,
One in loving one another,
One in bearing the cross.

" As God has made us equal in the share of the most glorious benefits of the gospel, as having given us one gospel, one baptism, one hope, one glorious Redeemer, so he has thereby designed us to be the same in brotherly love. And as without joint prayer that brotherly love cannot be kept in proper vigour, let us endeavour to keep up that holy exercise.

" We poor pilgrims at Trichinopoly hope to be benefited by your hearty supplications. Brethren, pray for us. Salute the brethren in the Lord. Grace be with you! Have salt in yourselves, and peace with the salt!

" I remain sincerely
" Your affectionate friend
" and fellow pilgrim,
" C. F. SWARTZ.

" Cuddalore, March 30, 1770."

An extract from an another letter, relating to the Christian Society referred to in the preceding, may properly follow it.

" That you are united in a brotherly manner, has rejoiced me very much. Such ' Collegia biblica,' as

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we were used to call them, were the beginning of that extensive blessing in Germany.[1] Mr. Spener first instituted them, when he was chaplain at Dresden. Afterwards Mr. Francke, Mr. Anthony, and others, followed the good example of Mr. Spener at Leipzig, and from thence it became more fashionable. As you kindly desire my advice in this matter, I will freely offer it, knowing that friends receive everything of that nature, though they have a right, nay are obliged, to prove everything according to the infallible rule of holy Scripture. I could wish that when, after reading the chapter of the Bible, you begin to expound it, every member might contribute something. In this manner you might all learn to prophesy. The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, as you all know. Likewise in respect of the prayer, one might undertake it one Sunday, another the next; so your gift might become beneficial to all. I confess the joint prayer of my brethren has been highly edifying to me, and even then, when the person who prayed displeased himself. The reading of the sermon, likewise, should not always be by one. The world will also have less to censure. Yours is a brotherly society; none is greater, none less; all upon that noble ground of humility and brotherly forbearance. And this divine humility will keep every member from censuring or gainsaying his brother. If humility and sincerity govern your society, you will have, I cheerfully hope, a great blessing. O that the Spirit

[1] About the year 1686.

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from on high might come upon us all, that the barren might become fruitful, the weak strong, and the mourners rejoicing! Salute your dear brethren in the Lord, and let this plain epistle be read, if you please, by them. My heart and love are with you. Remember us in our desert, that here the waters of life may likewise flow.

"Trichinopoly, May 14th, 1770."

The following extract from a letter, of the same date, to the Rev. Mr. Pasche, contains a curious reference to one of the causes which prevented the rajah from professing his belief in Christianity:

"There is at present here in Seringham a Brahmin, who, on being exhorted to become a Christian, related the interesting fact, that the King of Tanjore had at one time felt a strong desire to adopt the christian faith, and assembled all the chief ministers and officers of his court for the express purpose of submitting to them a proposition to this effect, but that they had all united in remonstrating against it; stating, that all his ancestors had served their long established gods, and had prospered. He should, therefore, they said, utterly renounce any idea or intention of this sort. It is remarkable," however, he adds, "that all the king's official advisers on this occasion are either immured in prisons, or wander about in the country as vagabonds and beggars. Among the native Christians," continues Swartz, "professing the Roman Catholic faith, there is at present much discontentment. They reproach the

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Jesuits for their ungodliness, their contentious spirit, and their covetousness. Many, it is rumoured, intend to leave them. Several of their principal adherents attend our religious assemblies. As I constantly instruct some natives previous to their receiving holy baptism, the Roman Catholics frequent this preparatory instruction, and listen to it. We treat the latter with affection and meekness; though we are fully aware that some afterwards calumniate, we do not suffer ourselves to be exasperated, but lay first a solid foundation of christian doctrine, and afterwards show how the papal tenets destroy the very essence of vital, practical Christianity. May God assist us for Christ's sake, that these benighted, deluded souls may be delivered from their destructive errors!"

The same spirit of christian wisdom and forbearance is apparent in the following extract from a letter to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, September 23, 1775.

"All our catechists are extremely careful not to give needless offence either to the heathen or Roman Catholics, so far as this can be done consistently with the maintenance of truth; so that even the heathen acknowledge that their proceedings are marked by a spirit of meek forbearance. The Mahomedans and Roman Catholics are the most artful enemies of the Gospel; all the insulting language of the heathen is to be regarded as nothing when placed in comparison with their insidious attacks. But God is our refuge and strength. May he teach us by his Spirit how to treat those who are gone astray!"

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The loss of a pious and useful man is the principal subject of the next letter.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Your last favour I have received, and should have answered it sooner, but I have been ill disposed to write letters. The death of my friend Mr. Green has made a great alteration in my schemes, as you may easily imagine. For what he could do, he did willingly, and with an eye to the glory of God. The school was kept in good order. Every Saturday we came together, consulting one with another how the school affair might be mended; and in a prayer we delivered all to the care and blessing of our heavenly Father. Now, a great deal of anxiety falls upon me. However, God's will be done! He knows best what we want in this our pilgrimage.

"From the time of Mr. Green's death, I have taken your George to me. He reads to me something every evening, and I think he reads well, and writes likewise. He is an active little boy, and has assisted Mr. Green more than could be expected; kept his linen in good order, so that he loved him as a father. I wish Willoughby's boy had a good christian master. He has learned hitherto under the care of Mr. Green, and has given us hopes that something of real Christianity is in his heart. His foster-father has set up a shop, but is a man who neglects religion more than any one here. If he should be employed by his father, I am afraid he will be kept at work all Sunday.

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"That our friend Mr. —— improves in the knowledge of Christ is a matter of great joy. Blessed be God, who raises up himself a seed in your place! May Jesus reign in all your hearts! The blessing of being united in the Lord is so great, that no angel's tongue can declare or explain it sufficiently. Stick, therefore, close to it. Small inadvertencies in a brother ought to be overlooked. I feel at present what it is to have and to lose a companion in the road to heaven. It is an invaluable treasure. In proportion as you grow united, edifying one another in all simplicity and brotherly love, you will experience an internal growth in faith, hope, joy, and strength. May the Lord Jesus be in the midst of your assembly, invigorating and strengthening you by his Spirit!

"My last letter has no doubt grieved you. The Tanjore affair has much dejected me.[1] The king is gone to visit some places, and will return perhaps in eight or ten days. I shall try to go thither. But to whom shall I deliver the care of the church and divine service here? Pray jointly for me. May God guide me by his blessed Spirit! My hearty salutations to all the brethren.

"I remain your sincere friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

"Trichinopoly, 16th July, 1770."

The following extracts from three succeeding let-

[1] Referring to the approach of hostilities on the part of the nabob of the Carnatic and the East India Company against the rajah of Tanjore.

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ters relate chiefly to the native boys whom Swartz was anxious to place under the care of Mr. Chambers.

"Your last favour I received several days ago. You ask me, what is to be done with your George? In my opinion it would be best to take him from hence; because what he is to learn, he will learn sooner when he is with you. Moreover, he will be freer from being infected. I spoke with the boy's father, and he is very willing to let him go to Madras. I will send him as soon as the water permits.

"May you be strong in the Lord, who is our righteousness! My kindest salutations to all our dear brethren in the Lord.

"Trichinopoly, July 28th, 1770."

"As to Willoughby's boy, I have spoken to his father, who is very willing to deliver him over to your kind care. For my part, I think you will like the boy; and he is very happy in hearing that he should be trained up by you. May God bless you, and all our brethren, externally and internally!

"Trichinopoly, August 15th, 1770."

"To-day Willoughby's boy sets off for Madras. I hope he will turn out well; at least I can safely say, that he has given me all reason to think so. The point of strict honesty I have inculcated on him, and he has promised faithfully. Had he remained here for some time, I would have prepared him for the sacrament; but that may be done at Ma-

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dras much better; the coldness of his parents here was a great impediment to it. I wish heartily poor Jacob could find a good master. I cannot say so much for him as for Willoughby's boy; however, in point of honesty I am not without all hope. I know recommending is a dangerous thing; neither would I go so far in respect of him: a master must try him. Does not Mr. Toriano want such a boy—if not immediately, in a short time? Jacob's father would never, as he says, do anything to spoil him. Dr. Gordon goes to-day to Madras. I have given him six hundred star pagodas to deliver to Mr. F——, being the estate of Mrs. H—— and her orphans. Within ten days he will be with you. As soon as he comes, you will kindly take care to get the money, and to make out a bond. Do you go on in your 'Collegio Biblico?' This evening I read before the soldiers, Acts xix. 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost?' Let us examine our hearts and lives frequently, and try whether we can humbly answer the question in the affirmative.

"May God pour out his Spirit upon us, so as to create in us a universal hatred of sin, a true and strong hunger and thirst after Jesus and his righteousness, together with a willingness to bear his cross!

"Salute all the brethren in the Lord. Grace be and remain with you!

"Trichinopoly, August 30, 1770."

Of the devotional service with the soldiers alluded to in the preceding extract, Swartz gives an inte-

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resting account in his journal, and in a letter to Dr. Knapp.

"When I return in the evening from my customary excursion among the heathen, I hold a prayer meeting with the English soldiers. This, God has graciously not left without a blessing. A chapter from the New Testament is read, some verses expounded, and the services concluded with some practical advice. Many attend this evening prayer, and twenty of them have united in devoting themselves sincerely to the Lord; and, to confirm their resolution, have received the holy sacrament. These, on Sundays, after public service, hold a special prayer-meeting, in which they encourage themselves by singing the evangelical hymns of the blessed Watts, and, in their own words, pour out their hearts before God. The mutual agreement among them is, that if any one lives in known sin, he is admonished, reproved, and, on failing to amend, is to be excluded from this special meeting. The gracious God direct his eye towards them, increase their number, and guide them by his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the edification of each other!"

The two following letters to Mr. Chambers, in the autumn of this year, beautifully illustrate the piety and humility of their author.

"My dear Friend,

"Your kind letter I received several days ago, by

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Tasunaick, together with the piece of broad cloth. I thank you for your tender (I might almost say too tender) regard for me, poor sinner; I wish—nay, pray heartily, that *you* may always appear clothed with the righteousness of your divine Redeemer. Just now we considered, to our mutual edification, in our evening prayer, that excellent chapter, Rom. v. 'Being therefore justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; rejoice in the hope of glory; rejoice even in tribulation.' What inestimable blessings are these! and all purchased by Christ, and given freely to all hungry and thirsty souls! O that we might open our mouths wide, and be filled! As I read you once that passage in the garden, so I could not help reflecting on it; nay, I shall remember you as often as I read it. May the Spirit of God be poured out in our hearts, and may he display to us the inconceivable wonders of the grace of God towards us!

"Your boys are now, no doubt, with you. I hope and pray that they may be serviceable to you. Let me by-and-bye hear of them. I forgot to mention the last time that I have sent my palanquin to Madras. Mr. Evers, the nabob's officer, borrowed it from me. You are welcome to it. As soon as you desire it, he is to let you have it. You may give him your palanquin. May the God of all grace strengthen you to do his will in all respects! My best wishes to all our friends. I remain

"Your affectionate friend and fellow-pilgrim,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, September 18th, 1770."

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" My dear Friend,

" It is now a good while since I wrote a line. It was the evening when I had been reading at our meeting the 2nd chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. Now I have been reading the 2nd chapter of the Revelation, and considered the first Epistle sent to the angel of Ephesus. How many things doth our Saviour approve of, which were conspicuous in the character of that bishop. Nevertheless, he had against him that he had left his first love. He still did many laudable things, but the principle from which they flowed was no more that pure and fervent love which formerly used to move and influence him. His heart became somewhat cold and indifferent, and he performed many things more from custom than love. I cannot say how that tender and mournful complaint moved me. It was as if Jesus stood before me, telling me, I have that against *thee*. My heart was quite melted down. Yes, no doubt, too many things, otherwise good in themselves, are done without that noble spirit of love. O that my heart might bleed for that unaccountable coldness with respect to the love I owe to my blessed Redeemer! I repent of it sincerely, though not so as I wish, remembering how great the fall is. But how cheering is the promise, which that beloved Redeemer gives to all those who overcome that coldness, and strive to be fervent in love. They shall 'eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God; they shall enjoy the sweet favour and love of God; they shall see and taste how good the Lord

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is.' May this inestimable promise keep up a fire of love in our breast! May we condemn all coldness and mere formality in religious exercises! I hope your heart is burning with the love of Christ, as the heart of the disciples in the road to Emmaus. Indeed, materials to kindle that fire within us are not wanting, provided we take care and be vigilant. Let us, then, mutually excite one another as long as we have opportunity; and let not the multiplicity of business damp that holy flame, which ought to be burning continually. My heart wishes you may be always a shining light! Amen! Be it so!"

It is impossible not to feel, in reading this exquisite letter, how true it is, that the best and holiest Christians are invariably the most humble. Few, perhaps, ever retained their first and earliest fervour of divine love in all its freshness and vigour, through a longer series of years than this admirable man. Yet with what tenderness and depth of feeling does he lament his deficiency and failure! Surely this is an example of genuine Christian affection which ought powerfully to appeal to the hearts of many who must be conscious of far greater declensions in the love of Christ than any which he so pathetically deplores. May the reflection tend at once to humble and to animate us!

After the brief summary of his labours during this year, already noticed, Swartz gives a more detailed account of them during the last four months of it, in his journal.

On the 9th of October he left Trichinopoly on a

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visit to Tanjore. He was accompanied on this journey by the native catechist Sædtinaicken, who was born there. Having reached Klicotta, they conversed with a number of heathens, Mahomedans, and Romish Christians, on the important subject of the Creator of heaven and earth, and his son Jesus Christ. "While engaged," he observes, "in this conversation, a poor widow came and asked alms. They referred her to me; upon which I said, 'God has shown mercy to every one of us, and thus teacheth us our duty to one another. You have sent this poor widow to me; be not, then, hard-hearted, but let us all contribute something, and gladden her heart.' But, alas! no one of them would give anything." He alone relieved her. The next day he arrived at Tanjore, and accompanied his friend Captain Berg who had met him on the way, to his house.

On Sunday the 14th he preached in the morning to the Tamul Christians, next to the Portuguese, and in the afternoon to a few Germans who were there, from Matt. xxii. 34, on the genuine love of God, evidenced by its fruits. "The day being cool," he says, "I went round the fort, the poor heathen collecting in numbers to hear the word of God. After conversing with them, a Mahomedan approached, and asked me, 'What was the difference between his religion and mine.' To which I replied, 'We both have a heavy burthen of sin to carry. You have none to remove it; but we have, in Jesus Christ, a powerful deliverer.'"

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"On the 16th," he continues, "I repaired to the river, where, during this month, the Brahmins assemble daily, and read the history of Ram to the numerous attending natives. On the way thither I met the rajah's arikar, whose duty it is to report to him every day whatever he sees extraordinary. 'Tell the king,' said I, 'that you saw *me*, and that I testify to great and small, that they should turn from dumb idols to the living God; and that from my heart I wish that the king would in this respect set his subjects a good example.' 'Good, good,' he replied, 'I will tell him.'

"The Brahmins sat in rows by the river. As I approached, one said, 'Give something to the Brahmins.' 'Well,' said I, 'first give me some useful instruction—teach me what relates to my welfare, and then I will give you something gladly.' Another said, 'This is our advice, that if you give money to the Brahmins, you shall prosper.' 'Is that all?' I replied; 'do you know nothing more than that?' I then copiously unfolded the perfections of the great God, and our obligation to worship and serve him only, our ingratitude and disobedience, the one method of reconciliation with him, the holiness and happiness consequent upon cordially acquiescing in it. Many listened in silence. The Brahmins afterwards strongly commended my doctrine, and the people testified their satisfaction.

"Farther on," he continues, "I sat down under a shady tree. The river was skirted with a border of verdant shrubs, and all looked fresh and green after

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the abundant rain. My heart was quite exhilarated by the view of God's lovely creation. Many heathens approached, one of whom said, 'What you were teaching yonder is right and good.' Upon this I declared to them the counsel of God, and testified to them that we must in a short time appear before the Judge of all mankind, to give an account of our conduct; and that they would rue it everlastingly, if they rejected the truth. A young man said, 'I will hear the truth.'

"In the afternoon, I addressed the people at the entrance of the fort, where they surrounded and listened to me as long as I continued speaking. O that God would give them an obedient heart! On my return, a Mahomedan frankly said, 'The people talk of you very strangely, asserting that you come here to draw them over to your religion.' I replied, 'They say what is perfectly true. I wish I could persuade them all to turn to the living God.' 'So, then,' said he, 'you avow that to be your object.'"

It is remarkable that though at the period of this conversation there was some risk in openly avowing, more particularly to a Mahomedan, the intention and the earnest wish to convert the natives to Christianity, so prudent a man as Swartz did not hesitate to make such a confession. It is at once a striking proof of the simplicity of his aim, and the strength of his faith, and of the general confidence which the integrity and excellence of his character had conciliated, that it was followed by no reproach,

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and by no attempt to interrupt or counteract his exertions.

On the 21st he preached, as on the preceding Sunday, in Tamul and Portuguese, and afterwards addressed the Germans from Matthew ix. 1. In the evening he took his usual walk, accompanied by two Mahomedans, who said, "The people are fond of you." This led to a conversation respecting the grace of God, and the way in which the forgiveness of sin is to be obtained. The next day, having gone early to the river, among many of the natives who joined him one of them said, "It is our *fate* to be heathens, and a convenient season must first arrive before we can change our religion." "You speak," said he, "of blind fate, which you yourself acknowledge to be evil; yet you reject a better dispensation, against your own knowledge and conviction. Can you suppose that the Almighty, to whom you will have to render an account, will accept this as an excuse? The time will come when you will regret having refused the means of salvation. It is the fear of men which keeps you in bondage." To the last observation they assented.

In the afternoon a large number assembled near the fort to hear him. One of them, a lively young man, said, "Show me God, that I may see him, and I will become your disciple." Swartz replied, "You speak like a sick man, who wishes to become well without taking medicine. There is a sure way revealed by God himself; follow it, and you *will* see

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him. This consists in self-abasement and poverty of spirit, in repentance, meekness, and humility, in hungering and thirsting after righteousness." He then asked the young man whether he would choose this way. He went away, like another mentioned in the gospel, acknowledging that this way was too difficult.

The day following, he met with a learned Hindoo, at one of the resting houses, who took him by the hand, and expressed great satisfaction in seeing him, promising at the same time to be obedient to the truth, should he be convinced of it. Several sentences in the Tamul language being visible on the wall, the Hindoo read them. The substance was nearly as follows.

"Our ancestors have been taught to observe many ceremonies, and have died. He will be the true priest who can confer immortality." "What say you to this," said the missionary? "Do you indeed desire true and happy immortality? If so, you may attain it." The Hindoo declared that the immortality he wished to possess, consisted in being exempt from pain, sickness, and death, and, whenever he was so inclined, (such was his expression,) in being able to make an excursion to the moon. "Your first care," rejoined Swartz, "should be this: how, as a poor, guilty sinner, you may be reconciled to God." "I know no sin," he exclaimed, "and wish for superior instruction from you." "Ah," said Swartz, "I perceive that you are full of conceit—the chief knowledge you want is self-knowledge."

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On the 31st of October he left Tanjore, and the next day arrived safely at Trichinopoly. On the 15th of November, he visited the great Mosque, and addressed the assembled Mahomedans on the true way of obtaining grace. Their legend respecting this mosque, is, that it contains the remains of a celebrated fakir named Natter, distinguished for his extraordinary miraculous powers displayed there about seven hundred years ago. It is frequented by the Mahomedans every afternoon, particularly on a Thursday, to worship God at the tomb of this pretended saint. One of the superintendents told Swartz that "the annual income of this temple amounted to about two thousand rupees, a sum insufficient to support the numerous families residing in its vicinity; which," he added, "occasioned continued quarrels." Two Mahomedans, who spoke Persian very fluently, conversed with him, and greatly extolled the merit of good works. He observed, "that the real foundation for the remission of sins was Christ's merit and satisfaction. I will not," said he, "detain you with long discussions, as you have just quoted the Persian proverb, 'He who disputes loses every time a drop of blood from his liver.' I will, therefore, simply state the truth as revealed to us in the gospel. We are sinners, and deserve the wrath of God. Consider his pure and holy nature. The more we think of God and ourselves, the more we must be convinced, that either we must suffer ourselves the punishment due to our sins, or that another person duly qualified must endure it in our stead. This person is no other

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than Jesus Christ. God has made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; accepting out of infinite compassion his atonement, which he has sufficiently demonstrated by his resurrection. He is now the foundation of all grace; so that, unless you seek through him the forgiveness of your sins, the guilt will rest upon yourselves, and you must bear the punishment." Having then explained how the doctrines of repentance, faith, and godliness all spring from this reconciliation with God through Christ, the eldest of the Mahomedans, who had listened in silence, at length said, "You have it one way, and we another;" but the other observed, "that Mahomed also taught, that Iman, or faith, lies at the foundation of good works."

In a letter to Dr. Knapp, dated Trichinopoly, January 22, 1771, in which he gives a sketch of his proceedings during the past year, Swartz thus speaks of himself and his catechists.

"By the grace of God I am fully determined implicitly to follow the Saviour, in whatever way it may please him to make use of my poor services.

"God has supported me and my native assistants in a very signal manner. The latter are perfectly well, and zealous in prosecuting the work of God. There are five; 1st, Devanesen, (Theophilus,) a man of quiet, peaceable disposition; 2nd, his son, Rayappen, who formerly had been my servant, but conducted himself with so much propriety that I ap-

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pointed him schoolmaster; 3rd, Sædtinaicken, a man in his fiftieth year, of a very cheerful and happy temper, who has a peculiar gift in conversing with all kinds of people; 4th, Ignasimutta, thirty years of age, who is very anxious to make known Christ; and lastly, Dewasagayam, whom I lately engaged on account of his piety, and ability in teaching others. Each receives monthly two pagodas, which is little enough to support themselves and their families. They are a great comfort to me, and each of them possesses qualities which render him useful in his department. During the last year I had many Papists and heathens under instruction. One of the assistants is then always present to teach the catechumens. The others I send to teach in the villages, which they do very willingly. In the afternoons one of them accompanies me in my walks to converse with the natives, and he addresses Christians and heathens in my presence. I have often been surprised at the great propriety with which they apply passages of the New Testament, to point out the superiority of christian doctrine.

"In the English school I have forty children, who are taught by two pious soldiers, and I daily examine them myself for an hour. In the Malabar school thirty children, of whom twenty-six receive a monthly gratuity of half a rupee. In the forenoon they are instructed in reading and christian knowledge; in the afternoons they are taught netting, that they may be accustomed to some employment."

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In mentioning his journey to Tanjore, in October of this year, Swartz informs Dr. Knapp, that the Roman Catholics appeared to be much excited by his visit, and requested him to hold a conference with their Padre on the doctrines of Christianity, in their presence. To this he willingly assented, laying down three excellent rules to be observed during the discussion, viz. that it should be conducted in the spirit of kindness and charity; that the appeal should be exclusively to the word of God; and that correct minutes of the arguments should be made in writing, so that the whole might be reviewed. When the day, however, appointed for the interview arrived, the Romish Padre, much to the displeasure of his people, declined making his appearance. Swartz contented himself with expounding to those who had assembled, several beautiful passages of Scripture, such as Matt. v. 1—10; John xiv. 6; 2 Cor. iv. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 6; Matt. xi. 28; and some of his hearers expressed their conviction, that if a missionary were settled at Tanjore, many would attach themselves to the truth. He concludes this letter, as he did one of nearly the same date to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, with an earnest wish for additional aid in his mission.

"The king," he says, "having once desired that I would settle at Tanjore, it might be well to make the attempt. Who knows whether the hand of God might not be with us, and many be relieved from their wretched state!

"Had I a colleague here, I might be absent for

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some months. But if anything be done in Tanjore, a missionary must be constantly resident there. I have mentioned the subject to the honourable society. May God in his mercy, for Christ's sake, direct all things to the glory of his name!"

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CHAPTER VIII.

Letter to Mr. Chambers at the commencement of the year 1771—The convert Nyánapracasam—Progress of the mission—Death of two pious English soldiers—Residence at Trichinopoly—Letters to Mr. Chambers—Attack by the Nabob and the English on Tanjore—Peace restored—Swartz's allusion to these events—Violence of the Roman Catholics against Nyánapracásam—The conduct of Swartz upon this occasion—His preservation from an explosion of the powder magazine in the fort—His reflections on the event—Conversion of Sattianaden, and a very aged man—Visit to Tanjore—Interview with the Rajah—Performs the marriage ceremony in the palace—Account of this, and of the Rajah—Letters to Mr. Chambers respecting one of his former servants, a convert to Christianity—Swartz declines an invitation from the Rajah for a political object.

THE record of Mr. Swartz's proceedings during the year 1771 cannot be more appropriately commenced than by the following letter to Mr. Chambers.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"This is the first letter I write you this new year. O may Jesus be glorified in your precious soul, so as to be your wisdom, and righteousness, sanctification, and redemption! We were reading and meditating this evening on Coloss. ii., wherein Jesus is set forth as our all—the sum, the centre, and fountain of all our bliss. Whatsoever we want we find in him; and are, as the apostle says, 'complete in him.' In

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him we are circumcised, by putting away the body of sin, which is the true spiritual circumcision; in him we are buried, by being baptized in his name; in him we are raised from the dead, by believing in him and his divine resurrection; by him we are quickened with a true sense of the paternal favour of God, having our sins pardoned. If, then, we have all in our divine Redeemer, how just and comfortable is the conclusion, that we are not to look out for any happiness in the new moons, &c. Why should we run to the shadow, having and possessing the body? Why should we complain of want of comfort or strength, having Jesus? Let us stir up one another to a faithful adhering to the fountain of all our bliss. But let us receive him entirely as our all—love, serve, and glorify him as such by our whole life. Amen, be it so! May this year prove to us both, and to our friends, a year of blessing, and peace, and strength!'

During the whole of this year, with the exception of a few days, Swartz held preparatory catechetical lectures from eight till eleven o'clock, and observes in his journal, that many of the catechumens occasioned him much joy. Among those who attended his first preparation was the young Pandaram,[1] who had been so anxiously in pursuit of religious truth, and who had so ingenuously resolved on listening to his instructions. "To me and all the catechists," he writes, "he has been a real joy. His desire after the word of God, and his sincere love of prayer, as

[1] See page 206.

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well as his kind and charitable disposition, have been clearly evinced. An officer who is sick, told me that he heard him pray every night about twelve o'clock for an hour together; a custom which in the simplicity of his mind he has since continued." This young man, who was of a good caste, received at his baptism the name of Nyánapracásam, (spiritual light,) and was added as a sixth to the number of the catechists.

This year the aged Schinappen, one of the first converts at Trichinopoly by the ministry of Mr. Kohlhoff, had the gratification of seeing all his relatives, with their families, attend Swartz's preparation as catechumens. Many instances of conversion amongst the Roman Catholics and heathens occured, the sincerity of which was strikingly proved by resistance to every species of allurement and persecution. "The increase in the congregation," he observes, "has been greater than in the preceding year, one hundred and forty persons in all having been added to it. We have also remarked more of the work of God in the hearts of the catechumens, which has encouraged us cheerfully to persevere. The Lord strengthen us daily in faith, love, and hope, that we may go on from strength to strength, and zealously promote his work in humility of heart, and dependence on his blessing!"

Among the English soldiers, the blessing of God had been remarkably evident; and the little company of the sincerely pious and devoted, which had increased to thirty, were eminently useful both in visit-

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ing the sick, and in accrediting and adorning the profession of Christianity in the estimation of all around them. An interesting memorial of the death of two of those pious men is recorded in Swartz's journal. The first of them was an Englishman, who had during several years lived as a true Christian. "There was a manliness," he says, "in his whole deportment. The Gospel of Christ was precious to him, and produced a settled peace and holy courage in his heart. This year he became sick. His pious companions visited him diligently. His mind was perfectly composed, and he longed for the holy communion, which was administered to his edification. Some hours before his death, I visited him, and found him in a most happy frame. 'My sins,' said he, 'are forgiven me of God for Christ's sake; my heart has rest and peace; the enemy has no power over me. I look forward with complacency to a blessed eternity. I would not exchange with the king of England. O the poor world, that it could but reflect what a blessed thing Christianity is!' Then turning to me, he said, 'And I thank you, my friend, for having made Jesus Christ known to me.'

"At last he repeated several times that beautiful sentence, 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth!"

"The other soldier, an Irishman, whom we called old James, died about a month since; an ancient servant of Christ, who kept his heart with all diligence. He frequently lamented, during his days of health, that he was troubled with sinful thoughts,

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which hindered his prayers. The very ungodly acknowledged that he was a Christian. He was in the habit of retiring alone in the night for devotion. Prayer was one of his chief employments. He hesitated when he read; but when he prayed, it was scarcely perceptible. This aged man was a blessed member of the pious Soldiers' Society. The last time I saw him at the hospital, he had no particular pain, but only general uneasiness. 'Well,' said I, 'James, you have nothing to object, should the Lord Jesus call you home?' 'Nothing, nothing,' he replied with a smiling countenance. We prayed with him, and the following night he departed."

How cheering are such simple and genuine memorials of those who, in a far distant land, amidst so many dangers and discouragements, lived and died in the faith and fear of God! And how incalculable the value of such a missionary as Swartz, both to the European and native inhabitants of India! Eternity alone can fully unfold it.

His residence at Trichinopoly was, indeed, an interesting spot. Daily he assembled his catechists, who were not on stations too remote, and instructed them how to explain the truths of Christianity, and to address the natives in a mild and winning manner; "trying," to adopt his own expressions, "whether they might not be so happy as to bring some of their wandering fellow creatures into the way of truth." In the morning, the catechists joined with him in prayer, and in meditating on the word of God; after which every one was directed whither to

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go that day. In the evening they gave an account of their labours, and the day closed, as it began, with meditation and prayer. During the day, many of the natives, of various ranks, came to visit and converse with him, as well as officers of the garrison, who esteemed his character, and courted his society. The widow of one of them,[1] who still survives, and at whose table Swartz was a welcome guest, bears the following pleasing testimony to him.

"No time can efface the remembrance of that remarkable man: more than half a century is since gone over my head; yet his features, his sweetness of temper, and kind and courteous manner, are still before me; his information was great and various, and whether he spoke of religion or of the world, it was delightful to listen to him."

The two following letters continue his pious and interesting correspondence with Mr. Chambers.

"My dear Friend,

"I have received your kind letter, and praise God for all the blessings he bestows on you, and for all the assistance he vouchsafes you in difficult circumstances. This evening we were edifying ourselves with Rev. vii., wherein we read of the great number of those that were sealed, standing before the throne, clothed in white robes and palms in their hands. O may we always be found in the white robes of the innocence and righteousness of our blessed Redeemer, and may we in his strength be able to conquer all the

[1] General Horne.

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temptations we find ourselves surrounded with every day! It is altogether cheering to consider that such vile and corrupted creatures as we are, shall be adorned in so splendid a manner, and that in the strength of our Saviour we, who are so frail, shall become conquerors. See how the angels and elders and the four living creatures bless and praise God, ascribing to him all power, glory, and thanksgiving. Let us join with them every day, giving all glory to him! Amen, be it so!

"Concerning the boy Jacob, I can say so much, that within a year and a half we have observed nothing of that childish or trifling behaviour so common amongst those people, (the Indo-Portuguese;) but then I must likewise confess that I have not observed real Christianity. He attends religious exercises, but the power of godliness I cannot observe. I have often talked to him privately, laying before him the danger, and my apprehension, of his falling into the same vices with other Portuguese. But he has assured me that he hoped God would preserve him. This is all I can say of him. May the Spirit of Jesus draw his heart to a sincere conversion! I have not mentioned a syllable of your intention to him. Do now as God guides you. Be happy in him, who doth and will love you.

"I am yours sincerely,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, May 11th, 1771."

How candid and conscientious is this character of

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the poor boy, of whom he was naturally anxious to speak as favourably as possible, consistently with truth! And how perfectly may we depend upon the statements of a man so judicious in his estimate, and cautious in his assurances, respecting the influence of Christianity on the natives of India!

The next letter contains an animated exposition of St. Paul's[1] eloquent description of the Christian panoply; a passage of Scripture peculiarly adapted to the situation of Christians like Swartz and his correspondent, amidst the strongholds of the prince of darkness.

"My dear Friend,

"Though I have not written to you for some time, you are in my thoughts, I may say, every day. I wish and pray that you may 'be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.' Without him we are nothing, and can do nothing. But being united to him and his Spirit, we shall be strong so as to gain the victory over all our enemies. This strength, which comes from our Lord, we need every day and hour, on account of our enemies. 'For we wrestle not against flesh and blood,' or weak men only, 'but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.' St. Paul describes the enemies, their power and malice, in a true, that is terrible manner, not to frighten, but to rouse us to earnestness. Slothfulness will not do; a holy zeal

[1] Eph. vi. 10—18.

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is absolutely necessary in order to overcome such powerful and cunning enemies.

"Let us 'stand, therefore, having our loins girt about with truth.' The truth of the gospel, particularly concerning the Author of our salvation, is like a girdle, that will keep close, and, as it were, unite our strength. As soon as we let go the truth, we loose our girdle, and are like to dissipate our strength. But as the principal truth of the gospel concerneth the righteousness of Jesus Christ, let us, above all, take and put on that perfect righteousness as a 'breastplate,' which covers our breast, and screens our conscience, so that no accusation or condemnation can reach and disturb it. And as the gospel contains and sets forth that glorious righteousness of Christ, let our 'feet be shod with the preparation of peace.' When our enemies deride our relying on the righteousness of Christ, and ask us from whence we have it, let us say, 'So it is written.' The gospel is our armoury. And whereas our enemies not only seduce, but likewise threaten; let us, in that case, take 'the shield of faith,' and trust in the providence of our heavenly Father. Our faith in the goodness, power, and veracity of God, is our shield, by which we keep off, nay, 'quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.' The glorious promises, scattered up and down in the word of God, relating to his providence and his preservation of his children, and that all shall turn to their welfare, those pacify our hearts. Nay, and if we suffer here, let us look up to that great salvation, which shall be in a short time

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our lot; let us use it as a 'helmet,' on our head, that we may not faint. And if our enemies will entangle and perplex us with their sophistical and knotty questions, let us take 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God,' and cut them all asunder. And lastly, in our cheerful confidence, let us never be proud, but maintain that most necessary poverty of spirit, 'praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit.' What divine arms are here offered to us! To know and consider them is good; but to put them on and use them is infinitely better. The primitive Christians used those arms in a very manly manner. O that the Spirit of Jesus Christ would enable us to become true and faithful soldiers of our Lord! Let us entreat him to strengthen us daily, till we can say, 'It is finished; I have fought a good fight.'

"Salute all our friends, and particularly Mr. Toriano. I hope to write him a line next Monday.

"For the handkerchiefs sent me by Mr. O——, I thank you kindly; likewise for the book you have bought for that truly christian soldier. He goes under the name of Bishop Powers. This man prays so well, walks so circumspectly, and preaches so effectually to his fellow soldiers, that I rejoice when I see him. He is now at the Coleroon, but he has heard of your kind present.

"As Colonel Flint has paid me one hundred star pagodas belonging to Captain H.'s widow and orphans, I have ventured to send them, in hope you will take them, as you have the other money.

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" I should be obliged to you if you could send me a pair of green spectacles—my eyes seem to want some help.[1]

" Here all is full of rumour of war, and it seems they will march against Tanjore, as it likewise seems that the king is resolved to receive them. I am sorry—poor king—he may lose all! How wonderful is the way of God! He is the supreme governor. May divine grace, peace, and strength attend you in all your ways!

" So wishes, my dear friend,

" Your friend and fellow soldier,

" C. F. SWARTZ.

" Trichinopoly, August 10th, 1771."

The war to which he alludes at the close of his letter, was occasioned by an attack which the rajah of Tanjore had made early in the year on the polygar of one of the Marawars. These being alleged to be dependencies of the Carnatic, the nabob appealed to the government of Madras as guarantees of the treaty between him and the rajah, and urged them to insist on the latter relinquishing his design against Marawar. The real object of the nabob was, doubtless, to embrace the opportunity of becoming possessed of Tanjore, to which, however, he had not the shadow of a claim, except in his own unjust and inordinate ambition. But as the hitsory of such disputes forms no part of the purpose of these Memoirs, it will be

[1] An increasing affection of the eyes a few years afterwards rendered writing painful to him, and gradually abridged his correspondence.

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sufficient to observe, that the king of Tanjore refusing, or at least hesitating, to comply with the demands of the nabob, the English army, under General Smith, marched from Trichinopoly about the 12th of September, and on the 16th arrived before Wallam,[1] a fortress of considerable strength, and one of the bulwarks of Tanjore. The battery was not ready till the morning of the 20th; but towards evening the garrison abandoned the fort. On the 23rd the army again marched and encamped before Tanjore. The operations proceeded slowly, but a strong sally was successfully repulsed by the British troops, and on the 27th of October, when the engineers reported that a breach would be practicable the next morning, the nabob's eldest son, Omdut ul Omra, signed a treaty of peace with the rajah, and hostilities for the present ceased. It is to these events that Swartz refers in the following letters to Mr. Chambers.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Your very agreeable letter I have received. Blessed be God for all his mercies bestowed upon us, in spiritual and temporal concerns. His ways are lovingkindness and truth. Whatever he doth, he doth it to our welfare; and that, according to his promises, to fulfil them, and convince us that he is faithful. So he establisheth a well-grounded faith in us in a practical method, which is far preferable to the speculative one. All his dealings with us

[1] Or Vellum. Mill's History of British India, vol. iv. p. 84.

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tend to work or strengthen that divine principle of faith in us. Consider the Psalms in that view, and you will admire, as I hope you have done already, the glorious footsteps of divine Providence—Providence! a word often used, or rather abused, by an unthinking world, is sweet to all those who have an interest in the favour of God through Jesus Christ. David was a pious and attentive observer of the ways of God. Let us do the same; and we shall find much comfort and strength by so doing. Our poor friend Mr. ——! alas, I am truly sorry for his circumstances. I am loath to judge of him in a rash manner; and still I cannot help thinking, that had his heart been better grounded in humility, he might have been very serviceable to the cause of Christ, and have avoided those things which have hurt him and others. Stedfastness is a noble quality, but, unguided by knowledge and humility, it becomes rashness. May God be his guide and comfort in those dark circumstances! I could heartily wish he would converse again with his friends. Who knows how God might alter things?

"The Tanjore affairs begin to grow serious. There is a little fort near Tanjore, Wallam, which was battered yesterday.[1] We heard the report of the guns very plainly. What shall we say to these things? Your observation is very just; and I think that if any one of our Christians had Christianity enough to take him[2] by the hand, he would, perhaps, have hearkened. But we want something else—

[1] This letter is without date.

[2] Doubtless the king.

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Eheu! Let us observe even in this affair the footsteps of Providence; how things will end, and what will be the effects of them. For nothing, God could never have permitted it. Idolatry in the Tanjore country is very deeply rooted; and to overthrow it gradually, who knows but God may use the present affliction? We pray, and will pray, 'Thy kingdom come,' to us, to all, to Tanjore. Amen.

"I remain sincerely yours,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"P. S.—This letter I wrote yesterday. To-day we hear that Wallam is taken, or rather, evacuated by the Tanjourians."

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Your last favour of the 19th instant I have received. Concerning Mr. ——'s dismission, your and my final remark is almost the same. This will in all likelihood open his eyes to treat other people with more decency, even when he tells them nothing but the truth. I hope a wise God will bring some good out of that catastrophe. Whatever we do, let us do it with humility, and submit the whole to God, who can mend and rectify what is amiss. When I read the evangelists, particularly the speeches of our Saviour to his disciples towards the latter end of his ministry, I think they consist mostly of admonitions to *humility*. And when we consider how long God has borne with us, I think we should not soon lose patience when we endeavour to mend others. Yesterday we treated, in church, of Eph. vi. 1—6.

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To walk worthy of our vocation, or calling, how necessary! And in order to do so, humility is placed in the front. Meekness follows as a consequence, and forbearance. The example of God and of Christ is proposed to our imitation. O may the Spirit of Christ lead and strengthen us at all times!

"The Tanjore affair is almost every hour in my mind. The army lies now encamped before it; not far from Captain Berg's house. When I pray, I know not what to say. All I can say is, 'Thy will be done!' Who knows what God intends, by this judgment, for the propagation of his kingdom! Farewell, my dear friend, and remember me before God, that to me may be given more grace, strength, and sincerity, in publishing the glad tidings of salvation.

"At present we have here a philosopher[1] in the preparation. He finds the doctrine of Christians difficult, because he is void of humility. His wife is more teachable, and seems to be of a humble heart. He is of the merchant caste. His son-in-law has left him, which he bears tolerably; his wife is better.

"I am, and remain sincerely yours,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, September 25th, 1771."

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"As I am sure you have prayed to God to bring

[1] In this and in several other letters, Swartz introduces the original Tamul words, with which his friend Mr. Chambers was perfectly familiar. Translations of them, by an eminent oriental scholar, are here inserted.

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the affair of the war to a happy end, so I think myself obliged and very happy in giving you the glad news of an accommodation, which has taken place. To-day everything is to be settled. No doubt tomorrow we shall hear more of all the articles. Blesed be God! It would have been a bloody affair if the fort had been stormed. We have lost a great number of Europeans and sepoys; the Tanjourians likewise. How easily is human blood shed, and lives thrown away!

"By the mercy of God we stand and are preserved. By Him only; for if the enemy had power, he had swallowed us up long ago. Last Sunday happened a peculiar case to us. A young man who came to us with his father and mother, six months ago, grew in true wisdom; and besides showed a truly christian spirit, almost above any of our catechists. The Roman Catholic people have tried to delude him by persuasion, bribes, and at last threatenings. All proving ineffectual, they fell twenty or more of them upon the young man last Sunday, and nearly killed him. For three hours the poor creature was senseless. I heard it at ten o'clock, but could not go to see him till twelve. I went with the doctor, and found him senseless; but after bleeding he came to himself. His chest is miserably hurt. The occasion was shortly this: one of the young man's near relations came from the country and fell sick. In his sickness he called for this young man, Nyánapracásam, who was reading to him and praying with him three days. In the course of Saturday night he

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died. Then came the papists to bury him; but seeing this young man, desired him to go away, on account of his having received the Parreiar law. He replied, 'If your catechist comes and tells me so, I will go.' As soon as the catechist came, he struck the young man with his slippers, and then all fell on him, dragging him through the street. The heathens cried out, 'Will you murder the young man?' They are of their father the devil, and the pope. However, the young man praiseth God, and is not dismayed. He is still very sick.—Pray for us.

"Yours,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, Oct. 22nd, 1771."

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"At present being confined at home by some showers of rain, I take my pen to write to you a line or two. By the upholding mercy of God, I and my assistants are tolerably well. The affair of the Romish people has given me some trouble; it has occasioned at least some loss of time. They applied to the nabob's son, who was glad to take the matter into his hands. I was quite resolved to drop the affair, after some admonitions to peace and quietness; but they threw themselves upon the nabob, who, as it appears, has squeezed them. They have not been afraid of threatening me with the worst things; but my security is in God my support. The padre sends presents to the general and all the head

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people. I have been quiet. It would have been folly in me to expect anything from those who, in all respects, side with 'the beast.'

"Mr. Gericke has informed me of your kind present of a pair of spectacles, &c., which he will send by the first opportunity. Mr. Fabricius writes me that my salary of one hundred and twenty-five pagodas is payable on the 6th of December. I have desired him to pay it to you. My intention is to put into your hands two hundred and fifty pagodas; and, if agreeable to you, to take the accustomed interest, in order to maintain one catechist from it. Let me know whether you agree with my proposal.

"Yesterday we treated of the day of judgment. O may our life be nothing but a preparation for that awful day! May we have that unspeakably joyful sentence, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom which has been prepared for you.' If Jesus is our friend, we have nothing to fear; for He it is that is appointed to be our judge. To his kind care and blessing I commend you and your concerns, remaining

"Yours sincerely,

C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, Nov. 25, 1771."

The conduct of Swartz upon the occasion detailed in the preceding letter, which was so much calculated to excite his own indignation, as well as to discourage the native converts, affords a striking proof both of his christian meekness and wisdom.

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His catechists were naturally anxious that he should prosecute the affair to the utmost; but he well knew how hopeless it was to expect justice in such a case from Mahomedans, and rightly judged, as experience afterwards proved, that the violence of the papists would probably disgust not only their own adherents, but even the heathen themselves, and thus tend, as in the days of primitive persecution, 'to the furtherance of the gospel;' while the patient endurance of the cross would no less contribute to strengthen and animate his own followers. This truly wise and christian view of the subject is evident in his next letter to Mr. Chambers, in which, after briefly but emphatically noticing his incessant labours, he resumes and beautifully concludes it.

"My dear Friend,

"After a long silence, I take the pen to write you a line or two. I hope you are convinced that, though I am sparing in writing, I am not in remembering you. Hitherto my engagements have been so close one upon another, that I had almost *no time for private study, except the night time.*

"In my last I mentioned the proceedings of Madur ul Mulk,[1] concerning the abused Christians. It happened as I imagined. He began to inquire; but as he found the other party alone guilty, he desisted, and let them go. He promised afterwards to give

[1] One of the nabob's younger sons, who was his representative at Trichinopoly.

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me in writing that they should do so no more; but even that he has not kept. However, I am not very sorry. Our help cometh, and must come, from another quarter. If God be with us, who will be against us? Neither do I think that the blasphemies of the papists will do us any harm. Even now is a family in the preparation, which was threatened to be turned out of their tribe; but the young man and his mother answered with a good deal of courage. Another before him argued the case with them with equal courage. I could relate many more things; but you know the nature of the kingdom of Christ. It was and is disliked and hated; and every one who desireth to be a genuine disciple of Jesus, must bear the cross: and by doing so he never will be a loser. Blessed be God for his unspeakable mercy in revealing his divine will, and strengthening us to do it! Our condition here is much the same as I mentioned in my last. Amongst the officers is less desire to frequent divine service than when you were here. The cause is plain. O! they know not what belongs to their peace.

"May Jesus Christ and the blessings of the redemption become more and more precious to you; may you hence have peace and joy; may you, by him, grow in all christian virtues!

"I remain sincerely,

"My dear friend,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, Feb. 1st, 1772."

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Within a fortnight after the date of the preceding letter, Swartz gratefully acknowledges his preservation from the effects of a lamentable event, which proved fatal to many around him. This was the explosion of the powder magazine in the fort, in the afternoon of the 14th of February. "By this calamity," he writes, "many Europeans were killed and wounded, and a much greater number of the natives. The whole street was covered with the massive stones, of which the magazine was constructed, with men prostrated beneath them. Besides the powder which exploded, a multitude of shells and cartridges descended like hail." The windows of his house were shattered, and several balls flew into the room next him; but amidst the surrounding danger, both he, his catechist, school-children, and members of his congregation, providentially escaped unhurt. In writing to Mr. Chambers, he thus mentions this melancholy event, and his own merciful preservation.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"By this time I suppose you are sufficiently informed of that divine judgment executed by a holy God on this sinful place. I will not, therefore, enlarge upon it, but bless God for his divine protection which he vouchsafed me, the children, and congregation. Human chastisements are trifles when compared with divine ones. Well may we stir up one another to fear God as well as to love him. So many hundred souls sent into eternity, without a moment's warning, with all their sins about them—how terri-

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ble! No doubt many were amongst those unhappy people, who dreamed of repenting to-morrow. May we be wise, and employ the present time to the best of purposes! May we never slumber, lest the bridegroom come at midnight, and find us sleeping. Blessed are those that wake, and keep their garments undefiled!

"This I write just before I go to Tanjore. Pray for me, and those that may hear the word of God. I wished Mr. Gericke might come here for some months; but that seems impracticable. 'The harvest truly is great, but the labourers few.' O that God would stir up many to come and help! We wait upon thee, O God. Let us not be put to confusion. The enemy is at present fierce. May God strengthen us!

"I remain yours in the Lord,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, March 3rd, 1772."

At the commencement of this year, he not only preached the gospel in Trichinopoly and the neighbouring villages, but sent out his catechists, generally two together, to distant places, where their labours were more than usually successful. Among the converts who were at this period added to his congregation, was a young man from the country, who, having been met by one of the catechists, was conducted to Swartz. He remained with him several days, heard his instructions in silence, and at length avowed his conviction of the falsehood of heathenism. He then desired to go into the country,

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and, after a few days, returned with his mother. He continued to attend diligently to reading and prayer, and, at his baptism, received the name of Sattianaden, Professor of the Truth. Many of his relations were much offended at his conversion; but he advanced steadily in christian faith, accompanied the missionary and his assistants in their excursions, and manifested, upon various occasions, his humility as well as his courage. In a short time he was received as a catechist; "only," observes Swartz, with his usual judgment, "I never send him forth alone, but in company with an elder assistant, that if he should happen to be roughly treated, he may have some one to console him." Sattianaden proved, as it will hereafter be seen, a genuine and valuable convert, and was distinguished during a long course of years for his useful and laborious services in the mission, to which he became thus early and happily attached.

Another instance of conversion, of a very interesting nature, occurred at this time, which is particularly mentioned in his journal for the year. It is that of a man, said to have been more than a hundred years old, who placed himself under instruction, and, considering his extreme age, comprehended well what he was taught, and prayed fervently. Not long afterwards he was taken ill, when he earnestly entreated that he might not be allowed to die unbaptized; "for," said he, "I believe in Jesus Christ." He was accordingly baptized and received, and was named, at his own request, Rayappen, (Peter,) after one of the younger catechists, to whom he was much

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attached. During his illness, he desired to be read and prayed with diligently. "I visited him," says Swartz, "the day before his departure, when he said, 'Now, padre, I am going to the kingdom of blessedness; and when I am gone, see to it that my wife, who is ninety years of age, may at length follow me.' Soon afterwards he expired, and, as an old man of a hundred years, and a child of God of a few months, he received honourable and christian burial. His aged wife is now under preparation, and has hitherto delighted us by her grave, devout, and quiet demeanour. She partakes of the spirit of those holy matrons of whom Paul and Peter wrote. She is now about to receive with us the holy communion. May the Lord bring her children and relations also!"

Early in March, as intimated in his last letter to Mr. Chambers, Swartz proceeded to Tanjore, accompanied by three of his catechists. On the day after his arrival, the king having heard that he had been explaining the doctrines of Christianity to his officers and servants in the palace, desired to hear him himself. He was accordingly conducted to a shady tree in the court facing the king's apartment, who, before he was aware, approached him, holding a yellow umbrella. "At first," he says, "I did not recognize him, as he was very thin compared with his robust appearance when I saw him two years before. Having made a low salam to him, 'Padre,' he said, 'I wish to speak with you privately;' and led me to a detached court. We had been together only a few minutes, when the great Brahmin, who might be called

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the court chaplain, joined us. The king prostrated himself to the ground, and afterwards stood before him with folded hands, while the Brahmin placed himself on an elevated seat. The Rajah gave me a sign to address the Brahmin, who also expressed a wish to hear the discourse which I had delivered in the palace the preceding day. I then directed him to the supreme Creator and Preserver of all things, and to the worship worthy of him, pointed out the folly of adoring images and departed men, urged the depravity of mankind, and exhibited the mercy of God in Christ, and the method of salvation by repentance and faith in the Saviour. The Brahmin listened in silence, and I was desired to withdraw a little." Refreshments were afterwards brought; and while he was partaking of them, the king asked him many questions respecting the nature of repentance; and particularly whether it were allowable to return to the sins which we professed to lament. The faithful missionary replied, that "true repentance consisted in a hatred of all sin, which was inconsistent with such a return." And to an inquiry as to what he thought of the sin of drunkenness, though he perceived its tendency, he took occasion, after the example of the great apostle, to "reason concerning temperance."

Notwithstanding his christian boldness and fidelity, it is evident that Swartz had conciliated, in no common degree, the confidence of the Rajah, and that he was anxious to see and hear him as often as his superstitious dread of offending the Brahmins

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permitted. The daughter of Captain Berg being about to be married to another European officer in his service, he desired that they might be previously examined and instructed in Christianity. At the end of a fortnight, the day for their marriage was fixed; and the king, having expressed his wish to be present at the ceremony, the bridal party met towards evening in the open air, in front of the female apartments in the palace. Swartz was accompanied on this singular occasion by two of his catechists and a schoolmaster. In the following letter to Mr. Chambers, after mentioning the case of a promising catechumen, and his interviews with the Rajah, he details the particulars of this marriage ceremony.

"My dear Friend,

"Your kind letter I have received by Nalla Tambi, who has been with us seventeen or eighteen days, reading, hearing, and attending public and private prayers. He seems to be pleased with such exercises. Here he is as in a desert. He has no communication with men, except with the catechists, who teach him something daily out of the New Testament. May divine grace work in him a thorough change of heart; for, without that, all other exercises would prove fruitless. I shall now soon see whether I stay here longer, or depart; consequently, whether Nalla Tambi will be baptized here or at Trichinopoly.

"Concerning affairs here, I am quite in the dark.

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The last time I was here, I saw the king four times, and spoke with him, more or less, of Christianity. But as soon as Manoziappa was put at the head of the government, the king was to be seen no more; because such intercourse was not proper! The king himself is very free, and speaks with one as a brother; but, unhappily, he is addicted to intoxicating drugs, and the love of women. These two things lessen his sense and authority. Were he to converse freely with Christians, I firmly believe he would be persuaded to be a Christian. He told me once, in reply to my entreaty that he would give up his heart to God, 'Alas! my padre, that is no easy matter!'

"I fancy you have heard that the king desired me to marry a couple in his palace, which I did. First we began with a hymn; then I prayed; after prayer, I preached a sermon in Malabar,[1] explained the duties of man and wife, and enforced them by christian motives, warning against the opposite vices by all that is awful. The king and his first people stood around us, hearing with attention, and even making his remarks. His women were before me, though concealed by a screen. All this displeased the devil.[2]

"We have been preaching everywhere in and out of the Fort; to which purpose I brought three catechists from Trichinopoly. About ten days ago, I was talking to a number of people, when I was attacked

[1] Tamul.

[2] The Brahmins considered it a dangerous innovation.

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by two servants of the king. Leaving me, they went into another street, where they found Rayappen (my former servant) and Nyánapracásam, (the young man who was abused by the Papists in Trichinopoly.) These two were reading the New Testament to many people, in which work they were attacked by those two servants of the king,[1] beaten, and deprived of their Testaments. Rayappen and Nyánapracásam have behaved like Christians, declaring to all the people present, that they were not ashamed to suffer for the cause of the truth. You see, then, that the word of God meets with the same treatment everywhere. May Jesus begin to open the eyes of the Gentiles, that they may come and receive the salvation which is prepared for them also!

"Now, my dear friend, pray heartily for us, and be strong in the Lord, that when he shall call you into another field, you may glorify him. Amen!

"I am, sincerely,
"Your affectionate friend,
"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Tanjore, May 20th, 1772."

The preceding letter was written during the second visit of Swartz to Tanjore, in this year. He remained there, upon each occasion, a month, and, during the latter, he had the satisfaction of having his place supplied at Trichinopoly by Mr. Gericke, who, at the request of the Society for promoting

[1] Swartz afterwards thought they might be disguised Papists.

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Christian Knowledge, had proceeded thither from Cuddalore. On his return to Trichinopoly, he thus resumed his correspondence with Mr. Chambers.

" My dear Friend,

" Nalla Tambi, your former servant, desireth to return, after he has been instructed and baptized. He has behaved, during the time of his being instructed, in such a manner as to give us hope that he will prove sincere. But as he has met with no temptations in *money affairs*, one cannot judge of it. May the knowledge of Jesus and of all his sufferings cleanse and strengthen him against all temptations of that sort! The point you mentioned has been frequently inculcated upon him, and now nothing remains but to pray for him, that he may follow the guidance of the blessed Spirit. As Mr. Gericke will acquaint you with all that passed here, or at Tanjore, I will not repeat it. May God bless us, and all the earth fear him!

" Wishing you a true enjoyment of that inestimable peace of mind purchased by Jesus, and applied by the Holy Ghost, I remain

" Your sincere friend and brother,

" C. F. Swartz.

" Trichinopoly, June 16th, 1772."

" My dear Friend,

" It is now about eight days since Nalla Tambi (or, as he has chosen the name of, Pracásam,) went from this place to Nagapatnam. I suppose he is now

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with you. He has attended tolerably well; so that I am not without hopes of his good behaviour. He desired me, before he was baptized, to entreat you to be his godfather. I told him that you would readily perform the duty of godfather, provided he would behave as a Christian. He is naturally passionate, but not malicious. The points you mentioned in your letter, I have endeavoured to instil into his mind. May the Spirit of Jesus Christ stir him up daily to watch and pray! You know how to behave to such beginners; how to treat them with a *kind severity*. Though such people have a good will and intention, they must not expect that we should trust them immediately, much less *blindly*. I beseech the Father of mercy to grant him a truly christian spirit, 'to walk worthy the vocation wherewith he is called.'

"Some weeks ago, I received the last sum of one hundred pagodas, that belong to Captain Heyn's orphans. I have forwarded them to Madras, and desired Mr. Fabricius to offer them to you.

"Concerning my circumstances, I cannot say much about them. The worst is, whatever is done at Tanjore, transpireth immediately: and so their schemes prove abortive. I had wished you had been there. But, alas! there are wheels within wheels. The poor king sincerely desired peace; but his own people are treacherous creatures. For my part, I bewail their confusion, and entreat God to assist them, or rather to revive them.

"When I consider how many people heard the word of God, and what a prospect of a harvest there

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was in that place, I wish heartily some labourers could be sent there. But our duty is to be faithful in that which is committed to our care. I have at present eight[1] catechists, who are willing to glorify the Redeemer, according to that measure of grace which is given them. Let us daily join heartily in lifting up our hands and hearts to God, from whom cometh all gifts and blessing. May his kingdom come, even amongst the blind heathens. Amen!

"Wishing you all that is needful to you in your station, in order to enjoy peace yourself, and to glorify your Maker and Redeemer, I remain

"Your sincere friend and servant,

C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, July 1st, 1772."

What a beautiful illustration do the preceding letters afford of that union of zeal with judgment and of hope respecting the sincerity of his converts, with that cautious reserve which his sagacity and experience, as to the natives of India, had taught him to be so necessary, which peculiarly distinguished the character of this eminent missionary! How anxious he was not to excite too sanguine expectations in the mind of his friend as to the conversion of his late servant, and how admirable his suggestion to treat him with a *kind severity!* The wisdom of Swartz was equal to his piety and love. In his next letter to Mr. Chambers, he refers to a fresh call to Tanjore.

[1] The eighth was named Abiseganaden, (Christian.)

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"My dear Friend,

"To-day I received your kind favour, just before I would catechise the children. In the time of catechisation I got a letter from Tanjore, in which I was invited to come, the rajah desiring to see me. The poor people will be afraid now, lest they may share the fate of the Marawar[1] rajah. I shall, if God pleaseth, take a journey thither next Monday. O that they might consider in time what belongs to their peace, before it be too late! Now you may sharpen your fervour in prayer. Remember them and me before the throne of grace. But let none know anything of this journey. The last time, the Cuddalore people were very industrious to spread their conjectures, which is often prejudicial to the cause of God. May God bless all your study and prayer! When you can send a line, it is very acceptable: but I desire it not at the expense of your precious time. The time is truly short! Happy if we spend it to the best of purposes. Wishing you a daily supply of divine grace and strength,

"I remain

"Your sincere friend and servant,

"C. F. Swartz.

"Trichinopoly, July 29th, 1772."

The object of the king's invitation to Swartz at this time was, as he mentions in his journal, of a political nature. He perceived the storm which was

[1] This is an allusion to the recent conquest of both the Marawar Polygars by the nabob of the Carnatic.

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approaching him on the part of the nabob of the Carnatic, and was desirous of employing the respected missionary as a mediator between him and the English, in order to revive their drooping friendship. "Now," he observes, "this in itself would not be sinful; but it is a dangerous matter to engage in such things with a people so prone to deceit; and this I distinctly avowed to them. The king said, '*Padre, I have confidence in you, because you are indifferent to money.*' But his officers did not wish me to be engaged in this affair, lest their own iniquity might be discovered. And thus it passed off; for which God be praised, as I had no occasion to declare fully my averseness to the employment."

Here again it is impossible not to admire the testimony borne by the friendly rajah to the known superiority of Swartz to the prevailing love of money, and the christian integrity and prudence with which he guarded against every engagement which might in the remotest degree hinder or interfere with his one grand object of promoting the gospel in India.

In the month of October he again visited Tanjore, and conversed with numbers of all ranks on the great truths of Christianity. Upon one occasion, however, he was forbidden by an inferior officer to preach so publicly without an order from the king; upon which he inquired, whether he had any authority to interrupt him in the peaceable exercise of his duty; and finding that he had not, he concluded that a Brahmin who happened to be present had excited this temporary opposition.

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On his return to Trichinopoly, he spent the rest of the year in his usual sacred occupations, in which the goodness of God permitted him to witness much that was hopeful, to the strengthening of his faith, and the comfort of his heart in the midst of many discouragements and trials. He thus piously concludes his journal:

"With this I close, and praise the merciful God for his unmerited goodness to me and the eight assistants during the whole year. May He, according to the riches of his mercy, forgive us whereinsoever we have, either inwardly or outwardly, in act or omission, offended him; clothe us with the perfect righteousness of our Redeemer, anoint us with his Spirit, enlighten, strengthen, and bless us all, to the praise of his mercy. Amen!"

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CHAPTER IX.

Swartz visits Tanjore—Places a Catechist at Vellum—Letters to Mr. Chambers and the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge —Renewed hostilities against the Rajah of Tanjore—Capture of the Fort and City—Unfavourable effect on the ministry of Swartz— Two journies to Madras—Progress of the Mission at Trichinopoly— Death of Colonel Wood—Letters of Swartz to his children—Restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore—Arrival of a new Missionary— His death—Mr. Pohlé sent from Tranquebar to supply his place— Frequent visits of Swartz to Tanjore—Letter to Professor Freylinghausen—Rajah of Tanjore—At his request Swartz learns the Mahratta language—Translates his Tamul Dialogue for the Rajah's use —Account of that tract—State of the Mission at the close of the year 1777.

EARLY in the ensuing year Swartz proceeded to Tanjore, and finding that an opportunity presented itself of preaching the gospel in the neighbouring fort of Vellum, he determined on placing a catechist there, and occasionally visiting it himself. Of this additional station he informs Mr. Chambers in the following letter.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"It is now a long time since I have asked you how you did. The business which keeps you from

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writing oftener is the very same cause of my delaying it so long. But besides the friendly inclination of writing you a line or two, I was stirred up in a particular manner, by finding some of your papers in the bureau Colonel Wood gave me. As they may be useful, nay necessary to you, for aught I know, (for I have not perused them,) I resolved to send them to you.

"Another question which I would put to you is, whether you have received those books which you desired me to write for, and which were sent to your brother[1] at Oxford, as the late Dr. Knapp wrote me.

"Yesterday evening we were finishing a short cursory explanation of the Revelation of St. John, which some young Malabar people desired me to give them at morning and evening prayer. Glorious are the promises which Jesus has given to his church, in order to encourage them in their pilgrimage.

"*So far I wrote a fortnight ago.*

"After that I went to Vellum, from whence I returned yesterday. As some Malabar people seem willing to be instructed, I proposed to the gentlemen there to erect a small house wherein we might assemble in an orderly manner; which they agreed to, and collected fifty pagodas for that purpose. I intend to keep a catechist there, and to visit that place occasionally. As some families beyond the Coleroon

[1] Then a fellow of University College.

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came hither and were instructed, they desire to fix one catechist there. In a few days time I intend to go to that place, in order to regulate matters as well as divine grace leads us.

"I had many things to write to you, but my time being much confined, I must conclude. May you grow daily in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ! May the blessed Spirit of Christ glorify Jesus more and more in your heart! And, O! may you be honoured to be a glorious instrument in promoting the honour of God, and consequently the benefit of your fellow-creatures. This is the sincere wish of

"Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, Jan. 20th, 1773."

In a letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, dated from Tranquebar, Feb. 14th, Swartz expresses his grateful sense of the divine goodness in preserving him and his fellow-labourers in health during the prevalence of an epidemic disease which had swept away above a thousand persons in a fortnight. He informs the Society of his visit to the natives beyond the Coleroon,[1] mentioned in the preceding letter to Mr. Chambers, and adds, that finding the greater part of the village inclined to embrace Christianity, he had left two catechists there, and ordered everything for the building of a small church, promising to return to them shortly. From

[1] About twenty miles from Trichinopoly.

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thence he went to Tranquebar to see his brethren the Danish missionaries, and to regulate some affairs relating to his congregation. He notices the increasing expenses of the mission, but expresses a humble hope that a merciful God will supply whatever might be needful—a hope which was not long afterwards realised by a donation of £200 on the part of the members of the Society towards the support of Swartz and his catechists. He gratefully acknowledges the Society's present of bibles, and common prayer books, which were most useful and acceptable to the English soldiers; and, referring to the liberal offer of Archdeacon Congreve to defray the expense of translating into Tamul, and printing, Leslie's Short Method with the Deists, and Bishop Wilson's Instructions for the Indians, he assures the Society of his intention of accomplishing that design on his return to Trichinopoly. In August he wrote as follows to Mr. Chambers.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Though our correspondence has been much interrupted by your multiplicity of business, this has not diminished my regard for you. I remember you often, and wish that all your steps may be blessed, that you may enjoy a rich share of divine light, peace, strength, and consequently true hppiness.

"Here all is in confusion. Poor Tanjore will, nay must, as they are pleased to say, fall. I am afraid Tanjore has filled the measure of its sins, and is given up. Certainly the poor rajah was blind and

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infatuated; otherwise he might have prevented the present misery that comes upon him. In January I was there the last time. I warned them, and told them that in the present course they must perish. Manoziappa's son said, 'What can we do?' I answered, 'Turn to Him who can help you.' He said, 'Is it not the way of the world?' 'Well,' I said, 'the course of the world will undo you.' Within a short time it will be decided. As the church at Vellum is to be turned into an hospital, I shall go to try whether it may be prevented. May Jesus be with you, and your spirit.—Pray for us here.

"I am, and remain,

"Yours for ever,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, August 2nd, 1773."

The alarm respecting Tanjore, expressed by Swartz in the preceding letter, was occasioned by the determination of the Madras government to assist the nabob of Arcot in the object which he had long had in view of dethroning the rajah, under the pretence of the non-payment of the tribute due to him from Tanjore, and possessing himself of his dominions. The army marched from Trichinopoly for this purpose on the 3rd of August, and on the 6th encamped within a short distance of Tanjore. The poor rajah remonstrated against this unjust invasion, but in vain. The approaches were made, and the breaching batteries opened on the 14th of September. On the 16th a practicable breach was reported, and the next day at noon, while the garrison had

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retired for a little refreshment and repose, the English troops advanced to the assault, and entered Tanjore with scarcely any resistance or loss. The rajah and his family were taken prisoners in the fort, and the nabob took possession of his treasure and his kingdom.

The effect of this change in the government of Tanjore was unfavourable to the influence of Swartz, and to the progress of his christian labours in that quarter. The nabob and his sons, though personally civil, were unfriendly to the exertions of the able and zealous missionary; and the building in which divine service had been performed appears to have been destroyed during the suspension of the rajah's authority in Tanjore.

In the course of the succeeding year Swartz undertook a journey to Madras for the express purpose of obtaining from the nabob a spot of ground at Tanjore, on which to build a small church; but the grant was refused. Business having called him to Madras a second time, he repeated his application, but it was again civilly declined. On both these journies, he observes in a letter from Trichinopoly, dated January 21st, 1775, addressed to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, he conversed freely with the natives, the generality of whom appeared to be more and more convinced of the divine origin of Christianity. "Many of the best families," he says, "would not hesitate to become Christians, could it be shown how they might maintain themselves. But the difficulties are now greater than when Tanjore and the Marawar country had

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their own princes and governments; many thousands of the inhabitants having quitted the country for want of food and employment. We go on, however, casting all our burden upon Him 'who careth for us,' and who can point out a thousand means of alleviating these distresses, and open the way for the reception of his word."

In the same letter he informs the Society that two of his catechists were stationed at Vellum, for the instruction of the small congregation collected there: and that his own at Trichinopoly had received a large accession of members. Several of these, he acknowledged with his characteristic sincerity, had been actuated rather by the pressure of the famine which was then afflicting the country, than by a genuine desire of knowing the way of salvation. "As they insist, however, on being instructed," he adds, "I think it my duty to bestow on them all diligence, though the labour sometimes increases to a great degree, hoping that some at least may make a good use of my instructions; nor have I been disappointed in my expectations."

The benevolence which was so conspicuous in the character of Swartz was particularly observable in his love to children, and in his endeavours to promote their moral and religious improvement. His schools for the natives, formed, as is well known, an important part in all his plans as a missionary; and in his intercourse with his European friends, his kindness towards the younger branches of their families was equally striking. Of this amiable feature in his character, a very pleasing memorial remains in several

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letters written to the children of Colonel Wood,[1] who, on leaving Trichinopoly had been stationed at Madras. They are marked by the affectionate simplicity, the sound judgment, and the elevated, but sober and practical piety which pervade all his corespondence, and prove how eminently he partook of the spirit of his gracious and condescending Master, who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." The first of these interesting letters is addressed to the eldest daughter, then only nine years of age, and is as follows:—

"It is a long time since I had it in my mind to send you a line, because I have known you from your infancy, and that for several years. It is, therefore, natural for me to wish you well, and particularly to desire the welfare of your immortal soul. I know, and am fully persuaded, that your dear mamma will do all that lies in her power to train you up in the paths of true christian piety; still a well-meant admonition from an old friend may be acceptable. As God has made us reasonable creatures, our great care should be to adorn our understanding with useful knowledge. Now the word of God is particularly given us for that divine purpose of making us wise unto salvation. It teaches us in the best manner what God is, and what we are; and leads us

[1] Two of the daughters, one of whom was married to the late Rev. Basil Woodd, died early of decline. The son, who followed the profession of his gallant father, is now a lieutenant-general in the army, and still retains a grateful remembrance of his venerable friend.

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unto Jesus Christ the blessed Saviour, who is able and willing to deliver us from our sins, and make us beloved children of God.

" I hope that by the example and admonition of your kind mamma, you are desirous of improvement daily in that divine knowledge of Jesus Christ. Besides, we have a will to choose, or to reject something—as this our will is directed either for God and his glory, so we are obedient to him; is this will inclined towards the world and sinful things, so we prove disobedient. There was never a man upon earth whose will was so well directed, as the will of our Saviour. In the midst of his sufferings he said, 'Not my will, but thine, O Father in heaven, be done.' Now, as a will, well directed and guided, is a sort of heaven upon earth; so, on the other hand, a stubborn, disobedient will is a sore affliction. Therefore I wish and entreat you, my dear N., to make God's will your own, saying from the heart, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O God.' And as we in our younger years do not know what is good for us, God has enjoined us to obey our parents. I make no doubt but a hint from your dear mamma will be as much as a command. Remember me to your dear brother, and my young friend, and to your two dear sisters. May the grace of God abound in and upon you. Amen!

" So prays your affectionate friend,

" C. F. SWARTZ.

" Trichinopoly, July 1st, 1773."

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The admonition of the pious missionary to acquiesce in the will of God came but too seasonably to his youthful correspondent, who was called about a twelvemonth afterwards to sustain the heavy loss of her father. Colonel Wood, who died in July, 1774, had requested Swartz to become a joint executor with Mr. Chambers, of his will, an office which he could not with propriety decline, considering his personal friendship for that excellent officer, and his obligations to him as a generous benefactor to his mission. The two next letters to his orphan daughter were written after his return from Madras, where he had consoled the family, and arranged, as far as possible, the affairs of his deceased friend.

"Trichinopoly, Sept. 10th, 1774.

"Your very agreeable letter I received with joy and thankfulness to God, for the divine grace which has already been given you; which, if you continue to implore your blessed Redeemer, and watch over yourself, will be augmented every day. Your dear mamma will show you an excellent admonition which God your Saviour has given you and us all. 'Give me, my son, (daughter,) thine heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways.' (Prov. xxiii. 26.) Yes, may your heart, all your desires and affections, be given to God, so as to love him above all, and fear him in a filial manner, and trust in him! His ways you must learn to observe, even with joy, gratitude, and obedience, though they should cross our ways; for his ways are good and highly beneficial, leading

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us to the place of eternal happiness. The ways of men are too often sinful, leading to destruction. Be, then, always observing the ways of your heavenly Father, and follow him in all. Obey your dear mamma; and look upon it as the greatest blessing, that God has given you such a guide. Love humility as your Saviour did, and let not your heart be deluded by the show of the world. Salute my young friend J., and tell him not to stay behind, but to be diligent in learning his book. Tell your dear sister B. not only to mind the things that belong to the body, but to mind, above all, the blessings of the soul; to pray heartily; to obey strictly all the orders of her dear mamma. And last, remember me to my dear P.; ask her whether she can say her A, B, C, and whether she loves prayer. Jesus be with, and in you all!"

"Trichinopoly, December 20th, 1774.

"Last month I received your most agreeable favour, which rejoiced me much. Blessed be the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has awakened your heart to a sense of the love of God, and of Jesus Christ. Believe me, this is the greatest treasure which a gracious God bestows on the poor children of Adam and Eve. The blessings which he bestoweth on our bodies are not to be despised; but as our soul is of an infinite value, the benefits which we receive from our God in respect of our souls, are much more to be valued than those which belong to our bodies. Go on vigorously in the way of God.

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Learn to know him better, and what mercy he has bestowed on us in Jesus Christ. Pray heartily to him every day, not only with your dear mamma, but likewise by yourself. Endeavour by the grace of the Holy Spirit to do the will of God. All true Christianity is founded in humility. This true humility makes the Lord Jesus so precious in our hearts. This humility produces likewise all christian dispositions towards our fellow-creatures. It makes us meek, patient, and compassionate towards all men. Above all, strive to subdue and conquer that most dangerous enemy, self-will. This self-will robs us of all comfort, and our fellow Christians of a good example; besides, it hindereth the Holy Spirit to work in us a glorious resemblance to Jesus Christ. Always think and say, 'Thy will be done, O God!' Salute my dear J. in my name. The angels sang, 'Glory be to God in the highest.' I hope he will glorify God through Jesus Christ. Tell B. that Jesus loveth all humble, praying children, and that I wish she may always be loved by Jesus. Your youngest sister M. tell, that Jesus desireth the children to come unto him. I hope she cometh daily, folding her little hands and praising him who was born a little babe for us. All and every one, I hope, is obedient to your dear mamma, that the blessing which God has promised to obedient children may come and rest upon you!"

Simple as these letters are, and adapted to the capacities of children, they will not be deemed un-

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worthy of being recorded, when the importance of such a talent for the instruction of the young on the part of a missionary, and the fine sense and solid excellence of the admonitions which they contain, are duly appreciated. The two following letters were addressed to his young friends in the prospect of their approaching departure from India, and their voyage to England.

"Trichinopoly, Jan. 16th, 1775.

"DEAR CHILDREN,

As the time is very near, when you, I suppose, will leave this country, I thought it my duty to write to you a short exhortation, which you are so willing to receive from me, your old friend. When you leave this country, I beseech you, take none of the sins which are so manifest here with you; beg of your Redeemer to forgive you all your sins, and to grant you the help of his holy Spirit to love, fear, honour, and obey God. Learn the will of God, and practise it daily, as you have given us some pleasing ground to hope you do. As your age is not easily given to grief, make use of your innocent cheerfulness to gladden the heart of your parent. You cannot please her better than by obedience, willingness to learn to pray, and fear God: endeavour to please her and your heavenly Father by all this; read every day your beloved Bible; pray heartily, and forget not to sing a song of praise to your Redeemer. Whenever your dear mamma forbids you a thing, be ready to obey. Never give way to any stubbornness; and as

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you know that God is highly pleased with humility, learn to be humble, entreating your Saviour to destroy all the seed of pride, and to clothe you with humility. May the blessing of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be with you. Amen!

"Remember me, and pray for me, that I may walk worthy of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that by my poor ministry many souls may truly be converted to our Lord Jesus Christ."

"Trichinopoly, Sept. 8th, 1775.

"Having written a few lines to your dear mamma, I thought it proper to address you likewise. You may be sure I have thought of you very often, representing to my mind the comfort which you would afford to her during the passage. In this obedient disposition I hope you will continue, nay, improve, as you advance in knowledge. You know, even in your tender years, how agreeable it is to God, and what a great blessing he has promised to obedient children. The fear of God, as a reverential regard to keep his commandments, and a holy care not to offend him, I hope, will preserve your tender hearts; and, to strengthen this holy fear and love to God, I hope you pray often and devoutly. As you liked prayer in your tender years, I hope you will not neglect it as you advance in age. Let your Bible be your most beloved book. Read and consider how Jesus your Saviour lived, how he gave himself for us all, how he sits at the right hand of God to bless us, and to send his holy Spirit into our hearts. But

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all this your dear mamma will explain to you more clearly. May God lead and guide you by his holy Spirit, that your whole life may bring glory to God and comfort to your dear parent and friends!

"My dear J. intreat particularly to be diligent in learning useful knowledge, and sincere. I hope to hear from him, and to learn how he has improved in those things which suit his age.

"Next January, the little J.[1] whom I educate, shall write him a letter; at present he begs to send his compliments. He is now reading his Persian books, which he began to learn just after your departure. Farewell, beloved children! May the blessing of God be upon you at all times!"

The converts to Christianity in Trichinopoly and the neighbouring villages, during the year 1775, were numerous, and, in general, able to give a satisfactory account of their faith. Among them, Swartz mentions a young man of high caste,[2] who had deliberated more than three years, whether he would embrace the gospel. His relations opposed his conversion; but he followed the convictions of his own mind, and, having cultivated our language, was taken into the service of an English gentleman. His countrymen shunned and reviled him: which he bore with humility, yet without dejection; and,

[1] This was the son of his friend, the excellent Mr. Kohlhoff, of Tranquebar, whom Swartz had adopted, and whom he was educating; who was afterwards his colleague and successor at Tanjore, and still lives, the highly respected superior of that mission.

[2] Abstract of Society's Reports, p. 180.

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finding that they could not depress his spirits, they acknowledged the wrong they had done him, and even entreated him to read to them some passages of the New Testament. In the same letter, Swartz speaks of two families near Trichinopoly, who had been converted, and whose patience, under the persecution which had followed from their heathen neighbours, combined with a degree of cheerful boldness in maintaining their christian profession, had been productive of such happy effects, that a third family had been induced to embrace the truth; and he entertained the hope of shortly seeing the whole village converted to Christianity.

The deposition of the rajah of Tanjore, and the assumption of his country by the nabob of Arcot, having been the sole act of the Madras government, was, after a considerable interval, the subject of serious discussion in England. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the nabob, the voice of justice prevailed, and an order was sent out from the Court of Directors to restore the rajah to his former authority. The president of Fort St. George was, in consequence, recalled; and, in April, 1776, the restoration of Tuljajee, under certain conditions highly favourable to the British interests, was proclaimed at Tanjore. This event led to the renewed and more beneficial intercourse of Swartz with the rajah and his kingdom.

In the course of this year, professor Freylinghausen, of Halle, to whom the Society for pro-

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moting Christian Knowledge had repeatedly applied without success, informed them that the Rev. J. J. Schoelkopf, of whom he wrote in strong terms of commendation, was on his way to London, to embark as a missionary to India. On the 29th of October, he was presented to the Society, and was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Bourdillon, in an eloquent charge in Latin, in which he refers to the subject of this memoir, in language which proves the high estimation in which he was held in this country. "Neither," he observed, "do you engage in this career alone: for, independently of that divine assistance which will attend both your entrance upon it, and your daily progress, you have the happiness of finding a wide and effectual door opened to you, and of being preceded by the illustrious example of Swartz, as a fellow-labourer; by whose unwearied diligence, admirable prudence, and incredible labours, the work of the gospel has, to the great joy, and gratulation to heaven, of this Society, within these few years, made no inconsiderable advances in Tanjore: whose footsteps, if you follow, not only as a friend and colleague, but as a most skilful leader, and imitate his faith, his zeal, his virtues, how will the solid experience of the one, the cheerful emulation of the other, and the united studies and labours of both, redound to the influence and efficacy of pure religion, and to the desired enlargement of the kingdom of Christ!"

Mr. Schoelkopf replied in Latin, in a manner which gave a very favourable impression of his ta-

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lents and piety, and sailed immediately for India, but died soon after his arrival, to the great disappointment and concern of Swartz, who mentions, with genuine christian feeling, this afflicting event in the following extract from a letter to Professor Freylinghausen, dated September 25th, 1777.

"Your letter, containing the agreeable intelligence of a missionary coming to my assistance, afforded me great satisfaction. This gentleman arrived safely at Madras; but it pleased the Lord of life and death soon to call him to himself, by a pleurisy, which terminated his life in a few days. You may easily conceive how deeply this intelligence affected me. But the Lord is holy: just and true are all his ways. Our duty is to submit to his will. May he have mercy on us, and support the work in which we are engaged, for Christ's sake!"

The next extract from this letter, affords another illustration of the wise and pious caution of the writer, as to any interference in political matters.

"Respecting our situation at Tanjore, you will easily conceive the confusion into which we have been thrown by the late events at Madras.[1] Indeed, the arrest of the governor by his council, could not fail to have a great influence on the affairs of Tanjore. It being known that the king placed confidence in me, I received letters requesting me to persuade him

[1] Alluding to the contest between the governor and the council, and the subsequent arrest of Lord Pigot.

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to accede to certain propositions; but this I refused in a polite way, as a business which would interfere with the conscientious discharge of my sacred office. This is the cause of my not having conversed with the king for six months past. It is with great regret I have to inform you, that he has lately given way to a luxurious and dissipated life; so that little hope can now be entertained respecting him. Yet, let us not forget, that God can do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think."

How clearly does Swartz here intimate one of the most powerful causes which hindered the religious progress of the rajah; yet with what faith and charity does he express his feelings on this interesting point, both in this and in a succeeding letter, while, at the same time, what immediately follows, shows his anxiety to promote the improvement of the rajah in christian knowledge, though at the expense of additional labour in acquiring another language.

"I learned," he continues, "at the request of the king, the Mahratta language,[1] into which I have translated a dialogue between a Christian and a heathen, composed by me in the Malabar (Tamul) tongue, at the express desire, and at the expense, of Archdeacon Congreve.[2] May God command his

[1] This is in use by the princes of Tanjore, as descended from the Mahratta conquerors; and to his acquisition of it, for the purposes of his mission, Swartz, doubtless, owed much of his subsequent influence in that court.

[2] Thus virtually fulfilling the object of the venerable Archdeacon's proposal, mentioned p. 268.

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blessing according to the riches of his grace! The order and contents of this dialogue are as follow:—

1st. On the being and infinite majesty of God.

2nd. On his glorious attributes.

3rd. On creation and providence.

4th. On the overflowing goodness of God towards our first parents, in creating them good and happy.

5th. On their deplorable fall, and consequent great misery.

6th. On the unspeakable mercy of God, in promising, and sending in due time, a Saviour, to the fallen human race.

7th. On our Saviour's person, and what he has done for the redemption of mankind.

8th. The way appointed by God for receiving man into his favour again; namely, that of repentance, faith, and holiness.

9th. The means by which mankind may obtain strength for repentance; namely, prayer and the sacraments.

10th. On the unspeakable happiness of those who walk in the path of faith, ordained by God, and keep his commandments.

11th. Lastly, a Treatise, proving the truth of the Christian religion."

This dialogue, the admirable outline of which is thus detailed by its excellent author, is still highly valued, and extensively used in its original language on the coast of Coromandel.

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"I regret," thus Swartz concludes this interesting letter, "that I cannot reside more constantly at Tanjore. I have scarcely found an entrance into the hearts of my hearers, when I must leave them again. You are well aware, that a few conversations will not suffice. Continual preaching is required, as well as frequent friendly converse, which will afford an opportunity of bringing to their consideration the various divine truths of the Scriptures. By relating to them the very remarkable events revealed in the Old and New Testaments, the foundation of heathenism is shaken, and Christianity appears in all her beauty. Many have observed, that when they first conversed with me, scarcely anything struck them as deserving particular attention; and that they secretly thought how they might get rid of me, or confound me by their answers. But after hearing a more complete representation of the different facts and points of the christian religion, they then saw the end in view, and the advantages to be obtained. God grant that we may put our hands with renewed zeal, vigour, and joy, to the great work of converting the heathen!"

The regret so frequently expressed by this great missionary, at his inability to reside more constantly at Tanjore, was happily relieved by the kindness of his Danish brethren at Tranquebar. On hearing of the death of Mr. Schoelkopf, they sent one of their own number, the Rev. Christian Pohlé, then recently arrived in India, to assist him; and on his earnest

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recommendation, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge received him as one of their missionaries at Trichinopoly, thus enabling Swartz to direct his more immediate attention to Tanjore. "Mr. Pohlé," he says, "has a clear head and a pious heart, with a great desire of doing good to the natives, and has made such proficiency in the Oriental languages, as to be able, in three months, to preach in Malabar."

This excellent missionary made himself master of the English as well as the Tamul language, so as to officiate with acceptance in both, and soon took a very active part in the work of the ministry and the schools.

In consequence of the assistance thus seasonably obtained, Swartz, during the year 1777, visited Tanjore four times. "In one of my journeys," he says, "I arrived at a large place, where the heathen were celebrating a feast. I was struck with the excessive crowd which I saw before me. I stood at some distance from them, but was soon surrounded by a great number of people, to whom I explained the glorious perfections of God, and remarked how they dishonoured him by their idolatry. I told them, at the same time, what infinite mercy God had shown to lost sinners, by sending them a Redeemer, and how they might become partakers of the benefits of redemption. All seemed pleased, and acknowledged their own folly, and the excellence of the christian doctrine. I spoke till I was quite exhausted."

In his letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, he laments in this year the loss of the

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able and exemplary catechist, Rayappen. "His solid knowledge," he says, "of the christian doctrine, his meek behaviour towards all, his contented mind, and, more particularly, his love of Christ and humble zeal in preaching the word of God, were acknowledged both by Christians and heathens."

With respect to the natives in general, he observes, "that though many who were convinced of the truth and excellence of Christianity were restrained by worldly considerations from embracing it, the divine blessing rested on his endeavours, to the real conversion of some." "It is our duty," he adds, "to be faithful in the discharge of our office, without being too anxious as to the number of those who are benefited by our labours."

The following extract from a letter to Professor Freylinghausen, dated Tanjore, Jan. 23rd, 1778, contains a brief, but interesting expression of his feelings in the review of the preceding year.

"Blessed be God for his abundant mercy, by which the missionary brethren and myself have been spared, supported, directed, and consoled! Who are we that He should have compassion on us from day to day! We are all well, although some of us begin to feel the effects of advanced age. The different congregations at Trichinopoly, Vellum, and Tanjore, are not only preserved, but have lately received an accession of fifty members. The schools are continued with good success; but it is with regret that I have to state, that the junior teacher of the English school

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has applied for leave to resign his place, as another more lucrative situation has been offered to him. The senior schoolmaster also wishes to leave us; he intends to turn merchant. They have by no means" —such is the pious reflection of the devoted missionary upon the secession of these useful fellow-labourers—" a due value for the welfare of immortal souls. As they see other people labouring for riches, and many succeeding in their schemes, they also become eager for their possession. O may the gracious Lord not leave us!

"The catechists are all out on different journeys to preach the gospel to Christians and heathens. From their reports, as well as from my own observations, it appears that the principal cause which prevents most heathens from embracing Christianity, is the fear of man.

"Of the king of Tanjore, I cannot relate much good at present. Formerly the Brahmins stood in his way; and now ——. But let us recollect that all things are possible with God. He has ways and means of humbling the proud, and of opening prospects for the dissemination of the gospel. I have presented the king with a copy of the Treatise, which I composed at the desire of Archdeacon Congreve, which he received kindly; and it is said that he reads it. May God bless its perusal!"

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CHAPTER X.

Tanjore the future residence of Swartz—His Report of the Mission for the year 1778—Letters to friends—History of a young Hindoo convert—Major Stevens—Foundation of a Church at Tanjore—Swartz called by the governor to Madras—His mission to Hyder Ali—Account of his journey to Seringapatam—Reception by Hyder—His Palace and Government—Swartz' occupations during his stay—His last interview with Hyder—His return to Madras—His disinterestedness as to remuneration—He obtains a salary for Mr. Pohlé, and assistance towards building his Church at Tanjore—Reflections on his Embassy to Hyder.

FROM this period, Tanjore formed the chief residence of Mr. Swartz, though he occasionally visited Trichinopoly, and superintended the missionary proceedings at both places.

The territory of Tanjore was conquered from the reigning Hindoo prince, by Eckojee, a member of the Mahratta family, towards the close of the sixteenth century. Fertilised by the sacred waters of the Cavery, it is considered as holy land, and has always been a most favourite residence of the Hindoos. Its capital, bordering on the delta of the Coleroon and the Cavery, is wealthy and splendid, adorned with a pagoda which eclipses in magnifi-

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cence all other structures in the south of India, and exceeding, in the number of its sacred buildings and charitable institutions, all the neighbouring provinces. Its soil is peculiarly rich and productive, and its inhabitants numerous and industrious. Having suffered but little from the Mahomedan invasion, the Hindoos of Tanjore preserved much of the original character of their religion, and cultivated the study of their sacred literature with ardour and success. Though inconsiderable, in point of extent, its comparative opulence and its local position rendered Tanjore, which was at that period the seat both of a political resident and of a British garrison, a place of great interest and importance. Such was the spot in which the future exertions of the great missionary for the diffusion of our holy religion were to be conducted.

In communicating to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge his general report for the year 1778, he observes, that among the Hindoos at Trichinopoly and Tanjore, there were many thousands, even among the Brahmins, who confessed that their idolatry was both vain and sinful. It was not unusual for them, when pressed by his arguments, to reply, "True—what can avail all our images and innumerable ceremonies! There is but one supreme Being, the maker and preserver of all!" Hardly a day passes," he says, "in which Brahmins do not visit my house at Tanjore, hear attentively what is addressed to them, frequently take up a book in which the doctrines of Christianity are explained, and

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praise it as a divine religion." But too generally their convictions ended with their applause. "A Brahmin," he continues, "being asked what he would resolve upon—whether he intended to stifle his conviction, or to receive that divine doctrine, and to profess it—replied that he could not deny the impression he had received, and that he had sounded some of his acquaintance; but that they all insisted upon the task as too difficult and dangerous, on account of the great numbers of the professors of idolatry. Nothing, therefore, but fear keeps them, at present, from embracing the christian religion; but it is to be hoped that this conviction will embolden them, one day or other, to shake off that inglorious servitude of sin and Satan. For my part," he adds, "I entertain a cheerful hope of seeing better days, and therefore rejoice in the present opportunity of preaching the salutary doctrine of Christ, frequently calling to my mind that there is a time of sowing preceding that of reaping.

"At Trichinopoly, we begin and end the day with public prayer. At Tanjore I have introduced the same custom. Very often Brahmins and others have been present observing our reading the word of God, our singing and praying. I never discourage the heathen from being present at any of our acts of solemn worship."

Early in this year, Swartz addressed the following affectionate and instructive letter to the children of his late friend, Colonel Wood.

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"MY DEAR YOUNG FRIENDS,

"I hoped to read a line from you this year; nay, from the letter of your dear mamma, I understood that you were kindly inclined to make me so happy; but perhaps the ship sailed before you had finished it. Well, I am fully satisfied with the good account she sent me of your health and improvement in all useful knowledge; particularly I rejoiced at your filial obedience to her. Truly this account was joyful, and a subject of thanksgiving to God. As you have begun so hopefully, I trust you will continue in that path which will not only rejoice the heart of your dear mamma, but, which is infinitely more, will be a joy to angels and their Lord. Oh, my dear friends, read daily the word of God, and let the meditation of it be your delight. By so doing, your understanding will be enlightened; the doctrine of your blessed Redeemer will be like food to your hearts; your affections will be fixed upon Him who is the source of your blessing; your whole conduct will be conformable to the will of your best friend; and lastly, this daily meditation of Holy Scripture will guard and preserve you from the path of the wicked.

"Never read the word of God without prayer. Be sure, my dear friends, that the neglect of fervent prayer is the cause of so much iniquity in the world. Forget not how tenderly the blessed Redeemer has advised us to enter into our chamber, to shut the door, and to pray to our Father in secret. You

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know that he himself practised prayer, and so set us an example, which it is our duty and happiness to follow.

"Wherever you are, watch lest evil conversation deprave your tender hearts. You know that we cannot trust our hearts; therefore be always upon your guard, and walk as in the presence of God.

"You see how plain I am to you, because I love you all, and wish to hear of your spiritual and temporal happiness. How happy should I be if I could be with you, and bend my knees with you before the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! But that being very improbable, I hope to spend with you a blessed eternity.

"Pray for me, my dear friends, that I may preach the gospel of my Saviour faithfully; that I may not labour in vain, but win immortal souls unto Christ; and that I may finish my course with joy, and enter into the joy of my Lord.

"Remember me respectfully to your kind governess. May divine grace guide her in instructing you! Farewell, my dear friends, and fulfil by your christian behaviour the wished-for joy of your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

It is difficult to conceive anything more truly wise, christian, and paternal, than the preceding letter, more perfectly illustrating the character of the excellent writer, or better adapted to impress the hearts

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and to promote the improvement of the young persons to whom it was addressed.

To Mr. Chambers, who had now removed to Calcutta, Swartz wrote this year, as follows:

"My dear Friend,

"You have truly put me to shame by your repeated kind favours, when I reflect on my neglect in answering. Pardon this neglect. I promise to mend in this, as I ought in all points of my duty.

"Hitherto a merciful God has preserved your unworthy friend, and bestowed on him innumerable benefits. Would to God I had made proper returns for all his unmerited kindness!

"The mournful story of your valuable servant[1] has much affected me, and every one who has heard of it. Satan is 'a murderer from the beginning,' and his servants are too often, at least in their hearts, of the same hellish disposition. The conduct of that young man is a great comfort to you, and to us, in this melancholy affair. May God raise up many to be witnesses of his grace, and the divine effects which it produces in the hearts of all who do not wilfully oppose it!

"The most agreeable account which I have heard a long time of the conversion of souls, is doubtless that which you so circumstantially described to me.

[1] The particulars of this story do not appear. It seems probable that the enmity of some of the natives had proved fatal to a converted servant of Mr. Chambers.

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I mean that happy couple, Mr. and Mrs. ——.[2] Tell them that as all angels and servants of God rejoice over a sinner that repenteth, so the devils and his servants murmur and blaspheme. O may our blessed Redeemer fill their hearts with 'joy and peace in believing,' that they may go on vigorously to the praise of their Saviour, to the encouragement of fellow Christians, and to the confusion of the devil!"

The narrative which follows, illustrates the beneficial effect of the practice already mentioned, of permitting the natives to be present at the devotional exercises of the missionaries, as well as the difficulty attending their conversion to Christianity.

"Here I had a few days ago an example which pleased me very much, though attended with trouble. A young man of twenty-four years, of the shraf caste, resolved to visit us at our evening prayer—heard the word of God explained, joined in prayer, meditated what to do—came to a settled resolution to join the despised people of God. Not poverty, not quarrel, but a desire of being happy, inclined him. He was engaged to marry a young woman, the daughter of a rich man at Seringham. The day of their wedding was appointed. He told his mother that he would fain marry that girl, but not with idolatrous rites. The mother said, 'I wish I had killed you as soon as you were born,' &c. All this happened before his being baptized. The relations got him cunningly, and

[2] The friends here alluded to continued, during many years, both in India and in England, to adorn and promote the religion of the gospel.

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kept him a close prisoner; but he found an opportunity of making his escape, and came hither to Tanjore. His mother and others made a great noise, and came and begged I would not admit him. I replied, in the presence of Brahmins and a number of people, that I never forced anybody; but that I could not reject him, if he desired me to instruct him. Further, I said, 'Here he is; ask him whether he likes to go with you, or stay with us.' The young man said, 'Mother, and friends, if you can show me a better way to heaven, I will follow you—but I will not live any longer in idolatry.' I remained in my house; the young man went to the chattiram; his relations followed him, and fairly carried him off to Vellum; but he again contrived to make his escape. After that, I instructed him daily, and baptized him. May Jesus triumph over all his enemies shortly!

"As to the rajah here, I thought to write to you as soon as I knew anything with certainty. But I saw that this might detain me too long. I have not seen him since February. He has married more wives—lives a sensual life, and indulges much, as his people say, in drunkenness. He is surrounded with bad people. Nay, to say the plain truth, the behaviour of many Europeans to him has disgusted him much. You know, my dear friend, that the generality of the people do not mind that which is Christ's.

"In Colonel Wood's affair, he has declared that not he, but the nabob, is obliged to pay the debt.

"Remember me to your kind brother. O how I

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esteem people who introduce justice into this desert. May your brother prosper! But you mention not a word of your mother. God bless you!

"I am

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Your blessed employment, how it rejoiceth me! Watch and pray without ceasing."

His next letter to Mr. Chambers is strongly indicative of that simple, yet elevated and devoted piety which so peculiarly distinguished this primitive missionary. The individual to whom he so painfully refers, had long been connected with the mission at Madras, but was now involved in pecuniary embarrassments arising from secular speculations and engagements, which obscured the lustre and impaired the efficacy of his previous exemplary labours. It is consoling to know that he was spared for several years after this period, and lived in some measure to redeem his character, and to prove the substantial excellence of his religious principles, and the validity of his christian profession and hope. The allusion, however, to his case is preserved as a warning to those who may be engaged as missionaries, particularly in India, to avoid, with the utmost caution, all such speculations and pursuits; while the kindness and forbearance exercised by Swartz upon this painful occasion may teach a lesson of charity to all with regard to an offending and fallen brother.

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"My dear Friend,

"I arrived here at Madras yesterday; and as I heard that a vessel is to be despatched to-morrow for Bengal, I thought it my duty to write to you a line or two. The occasion of my taking this journey is melancholy. Mr. ——, who has brought disgrace upon himself and us all, is dangerously ill. Our friends thought it necessary that I should try to get some information concerning certain points before he died. He is a little better, and as I have been dissuaded from entering upon that business, I shall say no more of it, except that his conduct has given me the most pungent pain. What shall I say? Let us watch and pray, lest we enter, fall, and sink into temptation. What is man, when left to his own foolish devices!

"Your truly friendly letter has revived me in the midst of all my present anxieties. The contents of it are glad tidings out of Sion. Blessed be God!

"I rejoice that you have awakened in some degree Mr. ——.[1] O may you be a happy instrument of his thorough recovery! Your advice to him not to compose his own sermons till he be more perfect in the English language is prudent. Anything of his own composition in his present condition would rather hinder edification. May he have so much good sense as to follow the advice of sincere friends!

"It is cheering to reflect on the externally devout

[1] A young missionary at Calcutta.

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behaviour of the congregation. O may the Spirit of Jesus come on them like a rain, that the Bengal desert may become a fertile soil, and the fruitful field of the Lord!

"That this time is a time of apostasy and blasphemy, none can deny; but this must not discourage us from glorifying our God and Redeemer. No; 'tu contra audentior ito.' Who knows but God may bless us one way or other? And, if, (which God forbid!) we should seem to spend our strength in vain, yet the work (and the fruit of it) is the Lord's.

"It is a most pleasing reflection to me, which has been much strengthened by the reading of your favour, that God is able to raise himself servants to do his will, and to promote the glory of his name, though those who are most obliged to do it should turn faithless to their charge.

"May you be a burning and a shining light, like St. John—a light full of divine knowledge—burning, and vigorous to live according to that knowledge; and lastly, shining, and diffusing that knowledge wherever you are!

"My poor prayer shall attend you, and your dear friends. Whenever I bow my knees before the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I shall often remember you, not only because you are my friend, but because you are a friend of my dear Master.

"Remember me kindly to Mr. and Mrs. ———, likewise the young lady that has dared to be so unfashionable as to count all things but dross in

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comparison of the excellency of Jesus Christ our Lord. My prayer to God is, that they all may be fruitful branches ingrafted into the true vine, viz. Jesus Christ.

"And now, my dear friend, abide in him, so shall you become daily more fruitful, and your fruit shall remain sure; and, which above all is comfortable, your prayer will be acceptable before God, so that whatever you ask, the Father in heaven will grant on account of Jesus, with whom you are united.

"Farewell, my dearest of all friends. Be strong, watch and pray. And may God prosper you! You shall hear from me soon again.

"I am constantly

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Major Stevens's quarters, 25th of June, 1778."

"My old friend Obeck salute in the Lord. You will pardon my writing so badly, but I was obliged to do it in the night. Major Stevens desires to be remembered to you."

The brave and excellent officer from whose quarters at Madras the preceding letter is dated, had been stationed at Tanjore, and was an intimate friend of the pious Missionary. On the restoration of the rajah, his zeal for the interests of religion induced him to erect at his own expense a temporary building in the large fort, in which Swartz officiated to the English garrison, and other Christians, native and European, in that place.

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"We had lost our church in Tanjore," he observes in a letter to a friend, "after that fort had fallen into the hands of the nabob. He amused us with empty promises; but when we were quite at a loss where to assemble for divine service, my pious friend Major Stevens built us a fine mud-wall church, which cost him upwards of an hundred star pagodas. But the congregation increasing rapidly, and a fresh covering with straw being requisite from time to time, we began, in January 1779, to think of building a spacious and permanent church. A subscription was set on foot, but the amount was shamefully insignificant. At Madras, about ten thousand pagodas were cheerfully contributed towards erecting a *play-house*. But to build a *house of prayer*, people have no money. Major Stevens, who could have effectually promoted the subscription, and superintended the building, and who intended to return to Europe, and make a faithful representation of what might promote the true interest of the Honourable Company, and the welfare of this country, was killed on the 14th of October, 1778, before Pondicherry.

"General Munro, who knew as well as everybody that Major Stevens and I lived together as brethren, condoled with me in the kindest manner, saying, 'You will not soon get a Stevens again; however, I request you will consider me as your friend.' Although we are bid not to place our reliance upon men, and although their promises are seldom anything more than compliments; yet I praise the Lord whenever he makes any one's heart willing to further the work

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of God, even in the smallest degree. At a visit which General Munro and I paid the rajah, the general observed, that Christianity is far to be preferred to Paganism. 'I am convinced,' said the rajah, 'that the christian religion is an hundred thousand times better than idolatry.'—But the conduct of the Europeans makes a bad impression on his mind.

"In full reliance on the help of God, I set about the building of the church in the little Fort. On the 10th of March, 1779, the general laid the foundation stone, nine feet deep; and the garrison being assembled, I preached a short sermon from the sixty-seventh Psalm.

"As I had rendered the general some little service, by translating the letter which the Court of Directors had written to the king, by performing the duty of a chaplain in camp, for a short time, and otherwise, I was informed that he had requested government to make me a present for my trouble. Instantly when I heard it, I wrote to Madras, declining any present for myself; but if they would do me a favour, I requested that they would make a present of bricks and lime, of which the Company had here a quantity in store, towards building of this church, as we had not even money enough to pay the labourers, much less to purchase materials. The general, who went to Madras, promised to support and promote my request."

It was some time before Swartz heard anything further upon the subject; but at length he received a letter from the general, desiring him to repair

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without delay to Madras, as the governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, had something of importance to communicate to him. On his arrival at the presidency, he was assured that his wishes respecting the church should be granted. He was then informed of the purpose for which he had been summoned. This was no other than to request him to undertake a confidential mission to Hyder Ali at Seringapatam, to endeavour to ascertain his actual disposition with respect to the English, and to assure him of the pacific intentions of the Madras government.

Of this singular embassy Swartz gave a brief account in his annual report to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; but as his conduct throughout this delicate and difficult undertaking was equally honourable to his ability and character, it deserves the more detailed narrative which he transmitted to his friends in Germany,[1] and which contains many curious and important particulars of his journey, and of his intercourse with the very remarkable personage to whom he was sent. His description of Seringapatam, and of the government of Hyder, at a period when he was at once the terror and the scourge of the British possessions in India, will still be read with interest; though his name, and that of his son, like those of greater conquerors, have ceased to excite either admiration or alarm.

It has been already observed, that upon more than one occasion Swartz had been solicited to act as

[1] Missionary Correspondence.

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the medium of communication between the English government and some of the native princes of Hindostan. This is by no means extraordinary. His remarkable sagacity and penetration, his familiar acquaintance with the native languages, his extensive information and experience, his calm temper and perfect self-possession, his open countenance and simple, ingenuous manners, and, above all, his known disinterestedness and incorruptible integrity, peculiarly qualified him for such services.

But these, like all his other talents and acquirements, were directed and controlled by the purest christian principles, and rendered subservient to the honour of his divine Lord and Master; nor does he, upon this or any other occasion, appear for a moment to have forgotten his one great character as a christian missionary.

On being introduced to Sir Thomas Rumbold, for the purpose of receiving his instructions for the commission with which he was about to be entrusted, "the governor," he writes, "addressed me nearly as follows:—

"'There is reason to believe that Hyder Ali Cawn meditates warlike designs: he has in some letters expressed his displeasure, and even speaks in a menacing tone. We wish to discover his sentiments in this weighty affair with certainty, and think you are the fittest person for this purpose. You will oblige us if you will make a journey thither, sound Hyder Ali, and assure him that we entertain peaceable thoughts.

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" ' The reason why we have fixed upon you, is, because you understand the Hindostanee, and consequently need no interpreter in your conferences. We are convinced that you will act disinterestedly, and will not allow any one to bribe you.

" ' You can travel privately through the country, without external pomp and parade, and thus the whole journey will remain a secret (which is of great importance to us) until you reach Hyder Naik himself.

" ' You will have nothing to do but to refer Hyder to his own letters, and to explain some dubious circumstances; and if you perceive him to be peaceably disposed, inform him that some principal members of council will come to him to settle the business finally. As the intention of the journey is good and christian, namely, to prevent the effusion of human blood, and to preserve this country in peace, this commission militates not against, but highly becomes, your sacred office; and therefore we hope you will accept it.' "

This unexpected proposal, as may be readily imagined, surprised and perplexed the good missionary. " I requested time," he says, " for reflection, intending to lay the case in retirement before God. It immediately occurred to me that it was in more than one respect an undertaking of danger."—It was, indeed, truly such, both from the nature of the country through which he was to pass, and from the fierce

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and perfidious character of the despotic chief whose territories he was about to enter.

"Having implored wisdom from above, I thought it," he continues, "my duty not to decline the proposal. The grounds which determined me were,

"1st. Because the mission to Hyder was not attended with any political intrigues. To preserve the blessings of peace was the only aim I had in view, and at that time I really believed Sir Thomas's intentions to be upright and peaceable. I considered that if God, according to the riches of his mercy, would vouchsafe to employ me as an instrument to establish the happiness of British India, I durst not withdraw myself, nor shrink back on account of the danger of the undertaking, of which I was fully aware; but I ventured upon it in firm reliance upon God and his fatherly protection.

"2nd. Because this would enable me to announce the gospel of God my Saviour in many parts where it had never been known before. And,

"3rd. As the Honourable Company and the government had shown me repeated kindness, I conceived that by this journey I might give them some marks of my gratitude.

"But at the same time I resolved to keep my hands undefiled from any presents, by which determination the Lord enabled me to abide; so that I have not accepted a single farthing, save my travelling expenses.

"These," he adds, "having been given me, I returned to Tanjore, where I left directions with the

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native teachers how they were to act during my absence, and then to Trichinopoly, where I preached to the Europeans and natives in the absence of the Rev. Mr. Pohlé, who was on a tour to Palamcotta."

On the 1st of July, 1779, he set out from Trichinopoly on his important and honourable mission, accompanied by his able catechist, Sattianaden. He stopped the first night at Curuttaley, a beautiful place near the Cavery, the aqueduct from which irrigating the low south lands, enabled the nabob to reap the fields thrice every year as far as Trichinopoly. The catechist here read to the inhabitants, and many attending Brahmins, from the Tamul dialogues between a Christian and a heathen. On the 6th they halted at Cattaley, and conversed with many of the natives on the salvation of the gospel; in the evening they arrived at Caroor, the frontier fort of Hyder, about forty English miles from Trichinopoly.

Here he found the son of a Dutch gentleman at Colombo, with whom he had once resided for several months, and who had shown him much kindness. This young man had been most liberally established in Ceylon by his father; but being offended by the refusal of some trifling request, he went in disgust to Negapatam, involved himself in hazardous speculations, was obliged to withdraw from Madras, where he next resided, and at length entered into the service of Hyder Ali, raised recruits for him, and incurred debts, in the hope that he would pay them. Hyder allowed

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him a salary; but deducted more than one-half monthly, for the purpose of liquidating his debts. Here he passed his life in sorrow, sighing over his folly, yet not thoroughly disposed to renounce it. Hence he engaged in new speculations, which only added to his perplexities. "How many," observes Swartz, "have I known, who, from determined self-will, have lost their prosperity, their lives, nay, too often, it is to be feared, their eternal salvation! O how should parents and teachers endeavour to inculcate on those entrusted to them, humility, and the subjugation of their own will!"

At Caroor he remained a month, having to write to Hyder for permission to advance, and to await his answer. During this interval, which to many would have proved tedious and uninteresting, he found full and most useful occupation. With his young friend from Ceylon, and his family, he performed divine service. Some of his servants he instructed and baptized. In the place itself, he and Sattianaden proclaimed the majesty of God, the deep corruption of man, the mighty Saviour, and the nature and necessity of repentance and faith in him. Upon these occasions, the street was often quite filled. Many listened attentively. A Brahmin said, "This is deep wisdom." A young man replied to his exhortation, "Look at the water in the river: will it assume another colour? As little shall we change." Some objected, that it was repugnant to them to receive the christian doctrine, though they acknowledged it to

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be good, from Europeans; were it preached by Brahmins, it would be more acceptable.

On the 6th of August, having received permission to proceed, Swartz and his catechist left Caroor, teaching and conversing with heathens and Roman Christians by the way. On the 8th, being Sunday, they rested at Curremudi, where he was joined by his friend and his family from Caroor. He preached to them from the 19th of St. Luke. "We were on the banks," he says, "of the river Cavery, where beautiful trees render the scene very delightful. We had a long discourse with a pandaram, on the principal subjects of religion. When he heard of the resurrection, he said, 'What is this? Can the body rise again?'"

The next day they came to Errode, where they observed the vestiges of the English army, which had some years since encamped there, and captured the fort. In the afternoon they arrived at Bovany. "This," says Swartz, "is an island formed by the Cavery, and highly venerated by the Hindoos. As we were to halt here for some time, I visited the inhabitants, inspected the pagoda, and the lovely spots near the river, where the Brahmins are accustomed to assemble. The streams flowing on each side, and the lofty and branching trees, refresh the eye and the spirits much more than in Europe. Several Brahmins pressed me to visit them, when I set before them the doctrine of Christ, and earnestly admonished and exhorted them. Apparently they approved all; but there it rested. 'We have already heard of you,' said one, 'how you have declared the true law at Caroor.'"

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On the 14th they reached Sattimungulum, after travelling for more than a day at the foot of the mountains. The fort stands on a high rock, opposite to which is a pagoda, from which Colonel Wood had bombarded and captured it without much trouble. The marks of the shot were distinctly visible. Being Sunday, divine service was performed with his friends from Caroor, and Swartz preached from Luke xviii.

Three days afterwards, the party arrived at Guzzulhatty, close to the pass. The heat was intense, and formidable mountains were before them. "Early on the 18th," he writes, "we set forth, not without fear, and prayer to God for his fatherly protection. A multitude of people accompanied us. Many carried a piece of wood, which they lighted, not only to render the path more discernible, but to deter the tigers. The mountain is ascended gradually. In many places it is steep. If one looks down into the abyss, the head becomes quite giddy. The path is frequently narrow; so that if you slip, it is all over with you. But the trees which grow on all sides conceal the danger. When we had mounted about half way up the hill the sun rose, and we beheld the numerous heights and depths with astonishment, and admiration of God. The eye cannot satiate itself with gazing; so that the dread of tigers is forgotten. Often we had a summit on our left, and a fearful abyss on our right. We directed the people around us to the majesty, the might, and the inconceivable greatness of God. The heights and declivi-

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ties which weary the traveller, are his work; and He has created them that they may proclaim his glory. But wretched man looks off from these wonders, and makes to himself worthless images, and says, Ye are our gods!

"About nine o'clock, we had surmounted the pass, and its seven lofty ridges. We expected that we should now have to descend; but it was a plain before us, and we perceived, with surprise, that the Mysore country is a full English mile higher than the Carnatic. During the whole way, the people saw but one small tiger, though there are thousands of them in these mountains. Having reached a village, we began to rest ourselves, when a thunder storm came on, one clap of which was so loud, that the whole mountain seemed to be shaken in pieces.

"On the 19th we proceeded, and had another hill to climb, fearful on account of the tigers, but not to be compared in elevation with the first. There was a tolerably spacious choultry; and, on entering into conversation with the people, a Brahmin said, 'No man lives so holy. Only let money be offered to any one, and all his good resolutions vanish!'"—an observation which, though but too true of the generality of mankind, and particularly of the Hindoos, was most remarkably refuted by the pure and perfect disinterestedness of the admirable person to whom it was addressed.

The following day, the party came to Arryacottah, where Swartz conversed in Hindostanee with the Brahmins on religious topics. The chief Beahmin,

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however, sent and called him away, fearing that Hyder might hear of it, and think that they were conferring on political subjects. "Hyder," he added, "is quite unconcerned as to religion. He has none himself, and leaves every one else to his choice." The observation was perfectly true, and affords a striking contrast to the despotic government of this successful adventurer in every other respect, and to the relentless bigotry of his son.

"On the 22nd of August," he continues, "being Sunday, we halted at Madenemuley, a pleasant little town. I first held divine service by the river, under the green trees. We meditated on the gospel for the day, respecting the deaf and dumb, and besought God to compassionate us and this benighted land.

"The country was very delightful, verdant, and well planted with trees. The air was fresh, and the nights rather cold; so that a covering was quite needful. A scarcity of rain having for some time prevailed, the poor heathen imagined, that if the Brahmins would only submit to certain painful ceremonies, God would soon send them rain; since they supposed that he was pleased with such austerities. One of those who was present exclaimed, 'Our religion is a complete system of fraud!'

"Over the river which flows by this place is a bridge of twenty-three arches; and, after rain, the superintendent is required to send people to repair it, wherever any earth is washed away from its sides. "It is Hyder's economical regulation," observes

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Swartz, to repair everything immediately; by which means all is maintained in good condition, and much expense is saved. Among the Europeans in the Carnatic, all is suffered to go to ruin.[1]

"On the 24th of August," he continues, "we arrived at the Fort of Mysore, from which the country takes its name, and observed, with delight, the beauty of the surrounding scenery. A high hill, on which a pagoda is built, was formerly dangerous to travellers. The Pagan mountaineers imagining that their deities took peculiar pleasure in the offering of a human nose, frequently rushed out upon travellers, cut off their noses, and offered them to their idols. Hyder has, however, strictly forbidden this inhuman practice; so that travellers may now proceed on their way in safety. From this eminence we had a distinct but distant view of Seringapatam, which we reached the next day. We crossed the river over a bridge, which, together with the strong columns on which it is constructed, is built entirely of stone. On the other side of the fortress there is another arm of the river; so that Seringapatam is an island. From the point at which the river divides into these two branches, the fortifications commence.

"I had a tent pitched on the glacis, as I found it too close and sultry in the fort itself, and an epidemic fever raged within; but I had, at all times, full liberty to enter. The fortifications have a grand appearance; but Europeans think that the works

[1] This, it must be remembered, was written more than fifty years since. Such mismanagement does not now exist.

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are not strong. I am not able, and do not wish, to pronounce an opinion on them. The rampart round the walls is not broad. Many of the houses are of two stories; and some of the ancient buildings are of hewn stone, with lofty and massive columns.

"The palace of Hyder Ali, built by himself, is very beautiful, according to the style of Eastern architecture. It is entirely of hewn stone, with numerous pillars. At the extremity of the pagoda stands the ancient palace of the kings of Mysore. The former possessor of the throne, to whom Hyder allows an annual income, still inhabits it. He has his servants, but is treated as a prisoner of state. Hyder himself sometimes visits him, and stands in his presence as a servant. Thus men of the world can dissemble. The king's sons are all dead; and the general opinion is, that they were secretly despatched.

"Opposite to the palace is a large square, on two sides of which are open buildings, in which the military and civil servants of Hyder have their appointed stations for conducting public business. He can overlook them from his balcony; and as they are required at appointed hours to be in the places assigned them, to receive the reports of the country and army, whoever has business to transact knows where to find them. Here reigns no pomp, but the utmost regularity and despatch.

"Though Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, the mainspring of action here is terror. Every one performs his part from a motive of fear, well know-

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ing the consequences of any neglect of duty. Persons of the highest as well as of the meanest condition are punished with the same instrument. The tyrant keeps two hundred men with whips in constant readiness; and no day passes, without many being chastised. The governor of a whole district is whipped in the same manner as the meanest groom. Hyder treats them all alike. Even his two sons, and his son-in-law, are liable to the same cruel usage. When any one of his highest officers has been thus publicly flogged, he does not allow him to resign his employment, but compels him to retain it, that the marks of the whip on his person may serve to deter him from repeating the offence; for he seems to think that almost all persons who seek to enrich themselves, are devoid of all principles of honour.

"Entering the palace one evening, I observed in the audience chamber a number of people sitting in a circle. By their dress, I perceived that they were collectors of districts; and in their countenances the marks of anxious fear were visible. I was informed, by Hyder's Persian secretary, that they were come to submit their accounts. They appeared to me like criminals expecting death. Very few were able to render these to Hyder's satisfaction: and, in consequence, dreadful punishments were daily inflicted. I hardly know whether to mention how one of these unhappy men was treated. The poor criminal was tied to a post; two men approached with whips, and flogged him in the most cruel manner, the

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pointed nails lacerating his flesh. The cries of the wretched victim were most heart-piercing.

"But, notwithstanding this severity of punishment, there are numbers who eagerly seek these lucrative employments, and even outbid each other. The Brahmins are the worst in this traffic. When one of them has obtained a district, he fleeces the inhabitants without remorse. At length, when called upon by Hyder for his arrears, he pleads poverty; and, having undergone a flagellation, returns to renew his exactions. Can we be surprised if the people, under such a government, lose all sense of shame?"

May it not be added, that it is a matter of congratulation, both to India and to ourselves, that a system so corrupt and cruel should within a few years afterwards, have been overthrown, and the government transferred to a nation acting upon the pure principles of British and of christian justice?

"Hyder's army is under the management of four chief officers (called baschi.) They may be considered as paymasters; but their office is not confined to paying the troops, as they have to provide for the recruiting service, and to regulate other military matters, being likewise judges for the decision of private quarrels. With these people I often conversed. Some of them speak Persian; others only Hindostanee, and are all Mahomedans. They once

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asked me what is the most acceptable prayer, and to whom ought it to be addressed? I explained to them, that as sinful creatures, and therefore deserving eternal death, we could only approach the Almighty in the name of the Mediator, Jesus Christ, and then expounded the Lord's Prayer. They next inquired, whether the Lord Jesus, in his gospel, had fixed the period of his coming, and of the day of judgment. In reply to this I explained to them the doctrines of the gospel; to some, in Tamul, to others, in Hindostanee. As the household of Hyder consisted chiefly of Brahmins, I had very frequent conversations with them. Some of them gave me very modest answers; whilst others avoided the discussion, and gave me to understand that they did not consider their temples to have been built in vain. 'The buildings,' I replied, 'may be useful; but the idols you worship, are worthless.'

"Without the fort several hundred Europeans were encamped, some of whom were French, others, Germans. I also met with a few Malabar Christians, whom I had instructed at Trichinopoly. To find them," he adds, with true pastoral feeling, "in that country, far from all christian ordinances, was painful, but to renew the instruction which they had formerly received, was very comfortable. Captain Buden, the commander of the German troops, lent me his tent, in which I performed divine service every Sunday, without asking permission; acting in this as one bound in conscience to do his duty. We sang, preached, and prayed, no one presuming to

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hinder us. The whole I considered as a kind providence of God.

"In Hyder's palace, high and low came, inquiring of me the nature of the christian doctrine; so that I could speak as long as my strength allowed. Hyder's younger son, (not Tippoo) seeing me in the durbar, or hall of audience, saluted me in a friendly manner, and invited me to pay him a visit in his own apartments. I told him I would come most cheerfully, provided his father would give permission; since to do so, without his consent, might prove injurious both to himself and to me. Of this he was perfectly aware. Even the most intimate friends do not venture to speak their mind freely. Hyder has everywhere his spies; but I knew very well that, on the subject of religion, I might discourse day and night without fear of giving him the least offence.

"When I was admitted to an audience, Hyder bade me sit next to him on the floor, which was covered with the richest carpets; and I was not required to take off my shoes. He listened to all I had to say;[1] expressed himself in a very frank and open manner, and told me, that notwithstanding the Europeans had violated their public engagements, he was willing to live in peace with them. A letter was then read to me, which had been prepared by his order. 'In this letter,' said he, 'I have stated the

[1] In his account of this interview to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Swartz says, "Hyder Ali gave a plain answer to all the questions I was ordered to put to him; so that the honourable Board at Madras received all the information they desired."

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substance of our conversation; but you will be able to give further explanations personally.' Hyder seemed, by this expression, to consider my visit as the preliminary to a treaty of peace; but the nabob at Madras defeated all these intentions.

"Whilst sitting near Hyder, I was struck with the expeditious manner in which the public business was despatched. When he had ceased conversing with me, some letters were read to him, and he dictated an immediate answer. The secretaries hastened away, wrote the letter, read it before him, and he affixed his seal to it. In this way, many letters were written in the course of the evening. Hyder himself can neither read nor write; but he has an excellent memory. Few have the courage to impose upon him. He orders one to write a letter, and then has it read to him; after which, he calls another and hears it read a second time; and if the secretary has not strictly conveyed his meaning, or has in the least deviated from his orders, his head pays for it.

"I frequently sat with him in a room, adorned with marble pillars, opening into the garden, which, though not large, as it could not be in the fort, was neatly laid out with trees, which were grafted, and bore two kinds of fruit; rows of cypresses, fountains, &c. Observing a number of youths carrying earth into the garden, I inquired respecting them, and was told that Hyder had established a battalion of boys, all of whom were orphans, and whom he had taken under his protection; boarding and clothing them, and furnishing them with wooden guns, for the pur-

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pose of teaching them their exercise. This care of poor orphans really pleased me; and I wish our government would, in this particular, imitate his example, and improve upon it, particularly as to religious instruction, so as it become Britons, and as God will certainly require it at our hands, who hath armed us with power, that we should use it chiefly for his service and glory, and not merely for our own.[1]

"On the last evening, when I took my leave of Hyder, he requested me to speak Persian before him, as I had done with some of his attendants. Of this language he understood a little, but he does not speak it. I did so, and explained the motives of my journey to him. 'You may perhaps wonder,' said I, 'what could have induced me, a priest, who has nothing to do with political concerns, to come to you, and that on an errand which does not properly belong to my sacerdotal functions. But as I was plainly told, that the sole object of my journey was the preservation and confirmation of peace; and having witnessed, more than once, the misery and horrors attending on war; I thought within my own mind, how happy I should deem myself, if I could be of service in cementing a durable friendship be-

[1] The benevolent missionary was here misinformed, or he would not thus have eulogised Hyder's supposed humanity. The battalion alluded to was formed of boys, called chêlahs, or captives, selected, at the proper age, from the numbers carried away after one of the sieges of Chittledroog, to people the island of Seringapatam, and trained, like the Turkish Janissaries, for the military service of this tyrant.

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tween the two governments; and thus securing the blessings of peace to this devoted country, and its inhabitants. This I considered as a commission in no wise inconsistent with my office as a minister of a religion of peace.' He said, with great cordiality, 'Very well! very well! I am of the same opinion with you; and my only wish is, that the English would live in peace with me. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine, provided—' "But of these mysterious provisions, nothing," observes Colonel Wilks, "can now be ascertained."

"I then," adds Swartz, "took my leave; and, on entering my palanquin, I found three hundred rupees, which he had sent me, to defray the expenses of my journey."

The conscientious missionary wished to decline this present, but was told by Hyder's officers that it would endanger their lives, if they presumed to take it back. He then expressed his desire to return it in person; but he was informed that it was contrary to etiquette to re-admit him into their master's presence, after having had his audience of leave, or to receive any written representation on the subject; and that Hyder, knowing that a great present would offend him, had purposely limited it to the lowest amount of travelling expenses.

Such is Mr. Swartz's interesting narrative of this singular embassy. Too much praise can scarcely be given to his conduct throughout this difficult undertaking. While his piety engaged the protection and

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favour of Heaven, his frank and manly bearing evidently disarmed the hostility, and won the confidence, of the Mysorean chief. The natives of India are said to be expert in appreciating character, and Hyder Ali possessed this talent in an eminent degree. He failed not to discern, under the simple and pious demeanour of Swartz, a mind of no common order; a degree of talent and of fearless integrity which he could neither deceive nor alarm, and which at once commanded his respect and conciliated his regard. Had the Madras governor been as penetrating with respect to the character and designs of Hyder, and as sincere in his professions of peace, as his admirable envoy, the storm which soon afterwards burst over the Carnatic, might have been retarded, if not altogether averted.

By the most unhappy coincidence,[1] Swartz arrived at Seringapatam a few days after Hyder had received intelligence of an attempt on the part of a body of British troops to pass without permission through his territory. This event was not calculated to allay the resentment which he had long cherished against the English on other accounts; and, in fact, though gracious and condescending to the venerable missionary, in the letter to the governor, of which he was the bearer, Hyder evidently betrayed his irritation and his hostile disposition. He reviewed the conduct of the English as connected with Mahomed Ali, from his refusal to resign the province of Trichinopoly, as he had promised in 1752, to their

[1] Wilks' South of India, vol. ii. p. 242.

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breach of the treaty of mutual support and defence in 1769, in consequence of which his affairs had been nearly ruined, in his contest with the Mahrattas, and enumerated the capture of Mahé from the French, the conduct of the nabob's officers on the frontiers, and of the Company's servants at Tellicherry, in affording protection to his rebellious subjects, as so many proofs of their determination to break with him; adding with fearful emphasis, "*I have not yet taken my revenge, and it is no matter.* When such conduct is pursued, what engagements will remain inviolate! I leave you to judge on whose part treaties and promises have been broken. You are acquainted with all things; it is right to act with prudence and foresight." From the haughty usurper of Mysore, what could be more intelligible, or more menacing, than such language as this!

On the return of Swartz, the governor communicated for the first time to his council the result of a mission, which it seems had been undertaken without their knowledge. The only documents recorded on that occasion, are Sir Thomas Rumbold's letter to Hyder, and his reply, which has been already adverted to, and which intimated that the faithful missionary would inform the governor of several matters with which he had charged him. No entry, however, appears on the records, of any such information; nor a single line of report or communication in any form upon this important subject.

The able historian of the South of India justly expresses his surprise at this omission, as well as that no

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such report had ever been officially called for. He adds, what the writer of these memoirs can confirm, that upon various inquiries, both in India and in England, no document of this nature has been discovered, and that in the preceding extracts from the correspondence of Swartz, a mysterious blank is interposed at the very point on which the desired information is wanting. "The nabob *and others* frustrated all hopes of peace."

The truth appears to have been, that full information of all that passed between himself and Hyder Ali was afforded by the pious missionary, on his return, to the governor of Madras; and that, with his characteristic candour and fidelity, he communicated his own impressions as to the state of affairs. Swartz himself was not deceived as to the probability of an approaching rupture. He clearly foresaw, and in subsequent letters to his friends plainly adverted to the intrigues of the nabob, and the misconduct of other persons, as the causes of this calamitous event. May it not, therefore, be conjectured, that the report of the result of his mission to Hyder was not recorded, because it little coincided with the prevalent views of the Madras government?[1]

[1] This coincides with the account contained in the late Mr. Hudleston's papers, which he received from Swartz himself. "In his very first interview," he observes, "Hyder told him that he was made an instrument to cover intentions and views very different from the purity of his own mind; that the English had adopted the designs of his enemy, (the nabob,) and that it was now too late to convince him that they had altered their policy, or that they entertained any views really friendly to him. He then requested Mr. Swartz not to renew the sub-

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"These extracts," says Colonel Wilks, "are added, for the purpose of exhibiting the amount of the lights which they afford regarding the nature of the mission, and of furnishing a curious and interesting picture of the mind of this venerable Christian, who seems to have deemed the political mission no farther worthy of notice, than as it tended to promote a particular object of spiritual pursuit."

In his last observation, this candid and eloquent writer by no means does justice to the character and views of Swartz. It was, indeed, one of the motives which induced him to undertake the embassy to Hyder Ali, that it would afford him an opportunity of pursuing the higher objects of his sacred mission; but he was, at the same time, deeply interested in the preservation of the peace of India, and, as the most effectual means of securing it, was anxious to promote the British power and ascendency in that country. Simple and spiritual as he was, he entertained the most just and enlightened conceptions of the real welfare of nations, and upon more than one occasion evinced the extent of his information and the soundness of his judgment on points of civil and political importance. In one respect only did he invariably reject every approach to secularity—in steadily re-

ject, but assured him that for any other purpose he was welcome to stay in Seringapatam, and should receive every attention, and might come to his Durbar as often as he pleased, and thus remarkably concluded—"that he had also his free permission to try to convert any of his people to his religion, if he thought he could succeed; for he was sure he would say nothing improper to them, or that would tend to injure his authority."

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fusing to derive from political services any personal or pecuniary advantage.

On his return to Madras, "having been furnished," says this disinterested man, "with all necessaries by the Honourable Board, I delivered the bag containing the three hundred rupees sent to me by Hyder to *them*, who desired me to keep it. Thus urged, I requested their permission to appropriate this sum as the first fund for an English orphan school at Tanjore, hoping that some charitable people would increase it. General Munro promised to recommend the plan to the gentlemen of the settlement." This design was immediately commenced, and, it will be gratifying to know, was afterwards carried into extensive and most beneficial execution.

"Being told," continues Swartz, "that Sir Thomas Rumbold intended to procure me a present from the board, I begged leave to decline accepting any, declaring that if my journey had been in any way beneficial to the public, I rejoiced at the opportunity. I signified, however, that it would make me very happy if the board would allow my colleague at Trichinopoly the same yearly sum they had given to me, being convinced that he would use it for the benefit of the school, and the maintenance of some catechists. This request was granted. Mr. Pohlé receives at Trichinopoly yearly a hundred pounds sterling, as I do here at Tanjore; by which means we are enabled to maintain in both places schoolmasters and catechists." The government further immediately ordered

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that he should be supplied with bricks and lime towards the building of his church at Tanjore.

Thus ended this memorable visit of Swartz to the capital of Mysore. "Of my journey back," he observes, "and the conversations I held with heathens, Roman Catholics, and Mahommedans, I cannot, on account of the shortness of time, say more. God preserved me on the dangerous journey, gave me abundant opportunities to announce his word, and directed all circumstances as was most expedient for me. Praised be his gracious name! May the Almighty grant that everywhere, and even in the Mysore country, his gospel may be preached, received, and glorified; so that many thousands may be converted, and eternally saved, to the praise and glory of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ!"

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CHAPTER XI.

Completion of the church in the little fort at Tanjore—Preparation of another for the Tamul congregation in the garden, presented by the Rajah to Mr. Swartz, in the suburbs—Letters to friends—Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali—Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Chambers—Desolation and distress of the country in consequence of Hyder's attack—Benevolent exertions of Swartz to relieve it.

THE new church at Tanjore, thus auspiciously commenced, was carried on with so much vigour, that, early in the year 1780, Mr. Swartz expressed his hope that he should perform divine service in it in the course of a few weeks. It was completed according to his expectation, and consecrated in the month of April by the name of Christ Church. "It is built," as he informed the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, "upon the plan of the church at Trichinopoly, being ninety feet long and fifty broad; so that five hundred people may conveniently find room in it. But," he continues, "though the church is very convenient to the garrison, it is not so to the Malabar congregation, the greater part of whom live in the suburbs. They used to assemble in the large fort, where my late worthy friend Major Stevens had prepared a very convenient place.

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"But as the spot on which he built belonged to a Brahmin family, which he endeavoured to find out, but in vain, and when at last that family, upon their return to the Fort, refused to sell the ground, we were in conscience obliged to let them possess their own property. However, we soon got a more convenient place given us by the rajah, near to which was a vaulted house for the use of an European family. That family quitting the place, I bought the house for one hundred and fifty pagodas, which were given me by Mr. John Macpherson, at the time of his returning to England, and by General Munro. But as this house was by much too small for the congregation, I lengthened it, so that it is now a convenient church for that congregation. It lies on a rising ground, not an English mile distant from the fort. Round about it live the inhabitants. On all sides of it is an empty spot, on which may be built a school-house, and houses for the catechists. I have enclosed it with a wall. All circumstances concurred to make this house of prayer convenient, healthy, and remote from noise. Blessed be God that we are so agreeably placed! May he graciously vouchsafe his blessing, that many thousands of the poor heathens may hear, embrace, and practise the truth preached in the midst of their habitations!"

In the same letter in which he thus piously and unostentatiously communicates to the society the commencement and completion of both these good and important works, he informs them that he had en-

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joyed a perfect state of health, and had not been hindered by any sickness in the performance of his various duties. "The catechists," he added, "and schoolmasters are all living, and according to the best of their abilities assist me in preaching the word of God. To make known to Gentiles and Christians the way that leadeth unto life has been my aim; and that most important business I have pursued through the last year, and, I hope, not without success."

Shortly afterwards he addressed the following letter to his young friend, the son of Colonel Wood, the wise and affectionate admonitions of which, it will be perceived, are beautifully adapted to his growing years.

"Tanjore, Feb. 22nd, 1780.

"I have received your kind letter, and rejoiced that the son of my much esteemed friend, who is now in eternity, goes on learning such things as will make him useful in human society. You learn Latin, geography, arithmetic, French, drawing; all which may be very serviceable to you, and beneficial to your fellow-creatures. I entreat you, therefore, to be very diligent, and to spend your time in the best manner. I remember that when I learnt vocal music in my younger days, I did not think that I should use it much; and behold now, every morning and evening when the Malabar children come to prayer, I teach them to sing in praise of their Redeemer. Every week they learn one hymn, for they are slow. Now I am well pleased that I was instructed in vocal

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music; all things may become useful to us and others.

"But then, my dear friend, our intention, our duties, must be well managed; or, in other words, our hearts must be truly mended. As you have spent many months and years in learning useful things, let your heart now be given over to your God, otherwise your learning will not prove beneficial; nay, which is deplorable, it may be abused to your detriment.

"As you are so well placed, I beseech you, by the mercy of God, my dear J., to mind now the best, the one thing needful. Examine your heart, and whatever you find in it that is not agreeable to the will of God, (and you will find much of that sort,) acknowledge and bewail it before your God; entreat him to wash and cleanse you from all your sins. Cease not till you find rest to your soul. Having obtained pardon and peace through Jesus, watch and pray, that you may not lose what you have gained, but that you may rather grow daily in faith, love, and hope.

"In your conversation with young people be very cautious. Their thoughts and speeches are often too frothy, ay, and even dangerous. Above all, try to gain strength—divine strength, to overcome that sinful bashfulness, whereby many are ashamed to confess or practise what they otherwise approve of in their heart. If you read your Bible, and pray heartily to God, you will get strength every day to go on and prosper in his way. Our time is but short;

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eternity, awful eternity, is at hand. Let us, therefore, not trifle away our time, but let us seek the Lord, and his grace, his blessing, and his strength. As you, dear J., are blessed with a pious mother, who is unspeakably desirous of promoting your welfare, I hope you will take all possible care to comfort and rejoice her heart. Though I nave never seen your schoolmaster, it is cause enough for me to revere him, that I hear he is a faithful servant of his Lord and Master Jesus Christ. May God bless him, and all that are under his care!

"P. S.—I communicated your letter to Mr. John Kohlhoff, who lives at present at Trichinopoly, and desired him to write you a few lines, which I hereby enclose."

Hitherto the health of Swartz had been vigorous and unimpaired; but in the course of this year he complained of a pain in the shoulder and side, which indicated something of the disorder so prevalent in India, which happily soon subsided. It is to this that he refers in the following letter, addressed to the lady of William Duffin, Esq., a medical gentleman in the service of the East India Company, who had been resident at Trichinopoly, and for whom he ever entertained the highest esteem. They were at this time at Vellore.

"Dear Madam,

"Your most agreeable favour I have had near two months on my table, having looked on it very often,

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and as often desiring to answer it. My indisposition hindered me first a long while. For though I was not confined, my right arm gave me so much pain, that I was unfit to write, nay, to hold a book with it. But now it is much better, by the mercy of God. He is the author and preserver of our lives. If he be pleased to let us stand for some time, O may he grant us strength to live to his glory and praise! Our time is in his hand.

"The behaviour of the Europeans in this country is truly lamentable. But let us live in such a manner that we may be witnesses of God's goodness—witnesses of the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus. Whatever *they* now say to keep themselves in countenance, they will soon bewail it. To be ashamed of God, the author of their life; to scorn their Redeemer, who bled and died for them; who purchased their pardon, peace, nay, eternal life—how shocking!

"Your celebration of the Lord's day is very pleasing. John was in the Spirit on that day. May you improve every Lord's day in knowledge, hatred of every sin, hunger and thirst after the righteousness of Jesus, and, in short, in every branch of true Christianity!

"I intended to say something, however, to distinguish the true doctrine of God from the spurious and fashionable one; but I hope to do it in my next.

"You are then the governess of your school. Who knoweth how much good may proceed from it?

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Let us not despise small things. God is pleased to bless them. My best wishes attend you and my dear friend Mr. D.

"Being your most humble obedient servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

"22nd of July, 1780."

About the same date is the following letter to the daughter of Colonel Wood, full of pious and affectionate admonition, and exhibiting some touching traits of apostolic simplicity and fervour.

"With great joy I have been reading again and again the most agreeable letter which N—— has written me. I praise God for all the innumerable blessings which he, for the sake of your Redeemer, has bestowed upon you all, particularly for that inestimable benefit of being guided, instructed, and corrected by a religious mother and governess. Be sure you are, in this respect, blessed above millions. The advantages which you daily reap from that double blessing are obvious, and very great. The impressions which we get from the good example of those whom we honour, are very lasting; and though we sometimes swerve, they follow us, and incline our hearts to pursue that which is good. My blessed friend Major S—— told me that the pious conduct of his mother laid the first foundations of that excellent frame of mind which was afterwards raised and strengthened by divine grace. But remember

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always the rule which is strictly observed by God, namely, 'To whom much is given, from them much will be required.' O my dear young friends, regard the admonitions, example, nay, and the correction of your pious mamma; despise them not; prize them higher than all jewels. Rejoice her heart by your humble and obedient behaviour, as I hope you have hitherto done. Doubtless you see and hear much in so large a city, which should not so much as be named by Christians. But the church is at present like a field which is overgrown with weeds, thorns, and thistles. You are happily guarded by your christian education against the pernicious influence which the prevailing wickedness might otherwise have over you. Shun those places; turn away your eyes and hearts from all which might vitiate your mind, or at least tempt you, or retard you in your way. Be sure, you may pray, nay, be fervent in prayer; but except you watch, you will lose all most miserably. Watchfulness is the soul of Christianity. Be therefore careful. Watch; above all, watch over your heart, over your conversation, over the company you keep. In short, be wise virgins. You will then be ready to go out to meet the Lord. You read, you pray, you sing hymns; but take care that all these excellent things may improve your hearts and lives, that by your reading you may grow in the knowledge of Jesus, in faith, in a sincere love towards him, in willingness to follow him, in hating and rejecting all things which hinder you in your desire of winning Christ, and the happiness of being found in him. I

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remember you all frequently: my heart wishes you all the riches of grace, of strength, and comfort, which are to be found in Jesus.

"When you come together to bow your knees before the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, forget not your old friend who lives in this wilderness. Beg of God that grace may be given me to finish my course with joy, and that in the time that my kind Master suffereth me to work, I may glorify him. After I have preached in the Fort to the English, I go out to the Malabar church, where I preach from ten till twelve. In the afternoon a catechist repeats the sermon, and at seven o'clock in the evening we have prayer; then I go to rest pleasingly tired. At our prayer I frequently remember you. Such joy the Lord my Master grants me in the wilderness! O when shall we appear before his glorious presence! Till I see you there, I am

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"P. S.—Remember me to your pious governess."

Notwithstanding the pacific mission of Swartz to Seringapatam, and the assurance of Hyder Ali of his anxiety to preserve peace with the Madras government, jealousy, and, doubtless, just dissatisfaction as to some of their proceedings, his own ambitious views, and the intrigues of the French, who were at this crisis again at war with England, and of several of the native powers, combined, in the course

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of a few months after that visit, to induce him to throw off the mask, and to commence hostilities against the English. In the month of June, 1780, Hyder invaded the Carnatic with an army of nearly one hundred thousand men: his cavalry overran the country with the most frightful rapidity, and spread ruin and desolation in every directton. Every day brought fresh intelligence of his conquests and devastation: but such was the apathy of the ruling party in the council at Madras, that they could not be convinced of the approaching danger, until black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were discovered within a few miles of that city. A party of Hyder's horse committed ravages even at St. Thomas's Mount, and the inhabitants of the open town began to take flight.

It is to these fearful events that Swartz refers at the close of the year in the following letter to Mr. Chambers, in which the confusion and perplexity, not to say the negligence and mismanagement of the English government, and the treachery or alienation of some of the native princes, are described with the strength and accuracy of an intelligent, and the piety of a christian, observer.

"My dear Friend,

"I will not venture to excuse, much less justify myself, on account of my strange delay in answering your valuable letters. In short, I am guilty. The account you have given me of the death of Mr. ——'s brother, of your own situation, of the spiritual state

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of your dear consort, are so reviving, that I have not only read them again and again, but keep them as testimonies of the divine mercy. Truly such accounts strengthen our faith, love, and hope, and are particularly very useful to those who work in the Lord's vineyard, and are often tempted with the discouraging thoughts of labouring in vain.

"Go on, my dear friend, and be sure that if you are instrumental in converting a soul, you have gained more than if you have got the treasures of both Indies. I write to a Christian, and therefore I am sure I shall not be accused of having exaggerated the worth and value of pious labours.

"I wish I could send you reciprocally a list of real converts; who, renouncing all the works, nay, lusts of the world, look out for grace, peace, joy, true happiness in the Lord Jesus Christ. But, alas! how rare are these!

"It is true Coromandel has been visited by the Lord; the inhabitants of it have had time, and places to be instructed; the book of God, and other useful treatises, have been freely offered to them; nay, they have been pressed to accept of these spiritual treasures; but they have neglected, not to say despised, the gracious counsel of God, preferring the friendship and things of the world before his heavenly blessings.

"Now the Lord God begins to visit them in a different manner. Their idols, on which they leaned, are taken away; their houses burnt, their cattle driven away, and what afflicts many thousand pa-

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rents unspeakably more is, that Hyder sends their best children away. All the smart boys of eight, or nine, or ten years of age, he sends to his country. He has now reigned in this manner above five months, without meeting with any opposition.

"Our leaders pursued other things; the welfare of the public was entirely forgotten; private interests, pleasures, luxury, were come to a stupendous height. They were warned three months before Hyder's invasion; but they despised the warning, saying, 'Hyder might as well fly as come into the Carnatic!' None could persuade them to the contrary, till they saw his horse at their garden houses. Then consternation seized them; nothing but confusion was visible. Hyder pursued his plan; took one fort after another, till he got possession of Arcot. Now he desires that the Dutch and Danes shall send their counsellors to compliment him as Nabob of Arcot.

"It seems as if all the country people wished for a change. Worriarpallam, Marawar, Tinnevelly Country, Madura, all are up in arms. The Colleries are encouraged by Hyder; and our place (you understand me) is suspected. These are terrible judgments of God. But are they not holy and just? Even the most profligate people seem to be convinced of it. If they would repent, and sue for mercy, who knows but a holy God might have mercy on them?

"But what shall I say? I tremble at the sight of

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it. Even now, every one looks out for some rich post. Everything is like a job, not to mention their continuance in their wonted sins.

"I dare say you fully know the transactions of Sir ——, &c., how they did everything to bring this calamity on the poor country.

"The nabob says he has no money; his disciplined troops he provoked, by withholding their pay. So he trained soldiers, (above 20,000,) for several years, for Hyder's service.

"Our people here at T—— seem to be very averse to our G——, and no wonder; for they were ill treated, and therefore do not care whether we sink or escape. And, above all, our infidelity, our contempt of divine things, is beyond description, and brings upon us the wrath of God.

"Now what is to be done? I say, with Jeremy, 'Be thou not terrible unto me, O God.' This calamity is from the Lord; and doubtless he intends to purge us from our sins, and take away our dross. Heathens and nominal Christians were asleep, nay, dead, and minding nothing but the things of the world. By the soft voice of God they would not be awakened. Who knows but they may arise on hearing the thundering voice of the Lord!

"This letter I send by Captain S——, who returned from England. He brought me a letter from Mrs. Wood, which is full of complaints, as you may imagine. Alas! she will get no money from the nabob, particularly as the country is in Hyder's

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hands, and quite drained. The king of Tanjore promised me to pay her the 14,500 pagodas;[1] but I am afraid, as his people are running away, and the villages very thinly inhabited, he will refuse to fulfil his engagement.

"God bless you, my dearest friend, and your dear consort. Tell Mr. G—— and his lady that I remember them very often. O may you all be a holy seed in Bengal! Remember me to your steward, my beloved Mr. Obeck, and assure him of my constant love and good wishes. May you all grow daily in faith, love, and hope, through the Holy Spirit!

"If Mr. —— and his colleagues, whose transactions, I am afraid, are not guided by the spirit of humility, come in your way, present my best wishes to them; and, I might well add, explain to them 'the way of the Lord.'

"I am constantly

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Tanjore, December 19th, 1780."

"You inquire about our church. You must know that we have two. The large one in the little fort is built according to the model of the Trichinopoly church, was finished, has been used from the 16th of April, and—what shall I say?—is now required to

[1] The difficulty respecting the repayment of this sum, originally lent to the rajah of Tanjore, arose partly from the confusion into which his affairs were thrown by his deposition, and the intermediate government of the nabob, and partly by the invasion of Hyder Ali.

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be a magazine for paddy: for nothing has been built here—no, not a magazine to keep the powder in. The second church is half an English mile distant from the Fort, towards the east, for the use of the Malabar people. I preach from eight to ten to the English, from ten to twelve to the Malabar, and from four to five, in the afternoon, to the Portuguese; and then, I say, I have served. Blessed Jesus, give thou the increase! Amen.

"P. S. You have sent me a bill for three hundred and fifty-nine pagodas. I wait for an explanation; for you do not owe me so much."

On the same day on which the preceding letter was written, Swartz addressed the following to Mrs. Chambers. It affords a beautiful specimen of christian affection and urbanity, and presents a brief, but impressive, view of the great principles of vital and practical religion, which formed the basis of his own character, and the source of his consolation and joy.

"Tanjore, December 19th, 1780.

"MADAM,

"Had I no other reason for addressing you than your being connected with my dearest friend in India, I think I should stand absolved from all imputation of being impertinent. But you have sent me joyful news concerning Mr. ——'s life and death, and copied them with your own hands; by this, you have made my addressing you an act of gratitude.

"I rejoice over your mutual happiness. You,

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madam, are united to a Christian. This will, this must, ennoble your state of matrimony. This must endear your connexion, even in respect of eternity. How happy should I be, if I could see you both, converse with you, and finish our conversation with prayer and thanksgiving. But though I cannot enjoy this delight at present, I may anticipate something of it by sending you a line now and then.

"You know, madam, that the goodness of a building depends much upon the foundation; if that be deep and firm, the whole building will be strong.

"Just so it is in Christianity, which is compared, by an excellent master-builder, (St. Paul,) to a building. Let us then take care to lay the foundation as deep as possible.

"The only foundation of all our holiness and happiness, in time and eternity, is Jesus Christ; his atonement, his righteousness, and sacrifice. If we are united to him, so as to share in his all-sufficient righteousness, we shall have and enjoy every blessing: wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: we shall glory in him.

"Now, that we may know, value, desire, and choose Him, we must know ourselves, and our sad condition by nature. In proportion as we know ourselves, we shall desire and hunger after Jesus, more or less. And still how backward are we to know our hearts, our poverty, and misery! Let us, therefore, entreat God to grant us his Spirit, that, by the light of the Searcher of hearts, we may see our

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true condition. This will make us humble, and show our poverty; but blessed are the poor in spirit, who have been so far enlightened as to see their poverty, in respect of knowledge, holiness, strength, happiness; for in all these particulars we are poor.

"This poverty the world endeavours to remove by riches, honour, fame, pleasures, and what not. But gold and silver cannot pay off our dreadful debt which we have contracted; it may, by ill use, even increase it.

"Others endeavour to become free from sin and sorrow by living a strict and virtuous life: they are servants, who owe their master ten thousand talents, but they fancy to pay off that debt by a farthing or two; and by such farthings, as, if well inspected, will be found bad coin. But the strict and holy law of God says, 'Pay that which thou owest;' pay all, perfectly. 'Cursed be every one that doeth not according to all that is written in the law.' And who of us is able to satisfy these just demands?

But the righteousness which is by faith, doth not say, pay thou all; but rather entreats us to accept of that *full payment*, which has been made by Jesus Christ. This righteousness of faith, (to represent it as a speaking person,) says, in a warning manner, to every mourning sinner, 'Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven, that is, to bring down Christ from above?' Be upon thy guard; do not thou, O mourning sinner, speak in so unbelieving a manner; for by such a speech thou deniest Christ, as if he had not come from heaven to redeem thee.

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" Neither say, ' Who shall descend into the deep,' to atone for my sins? Would not such a speech be a denial of the sufferings of Christ, as if he had not yet descended into the deep—death, and the grave, —or as if he was still in the grave, and not yet risen from the dead?

" But the righteousness which is by faith, not only warneth us, but gives, at the same time, the most salutary counsel; viz.

" The word which thou, O mourning sinner, needest for thy comfort, is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, (so that thou art able to speak of it,) and in thy heart, (so as to perceive and feel its strength.) Why, then, wouldest thou refuse to accept of it?

" That is the word of faith, which the apostles preached and sealed by divine works and miracles; so that there remaineth no reasonable doubt of its being divine; ' that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth, that Jesus,' who was crucified in order to redeem us, ' is *Lord*,' our redeeming Lord and King, " and shalt believe in thy heart that God has raised him from the dead, in testimony that he has fulfilled all:

" If thou, who art hungry and thirsty after righteousness, pardon, and peace, takest thy refuge in Jesus, who has made a full atonement for thy sin; and to whom God has given his judicial approbation, by raising him from the dead: thou art happy, blessed, pardoned, and a beloved child of God.

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" This is the only way in which we, who are poor, depraved, and deep in debt, may find comfort, strength,—nay, eternal life.

" So Paul thought—so prophets preach—so all true Christians have believed; and so I hope you, madam, and my friend, your husband, look out for all blessings, in and through Christ. Here is firm footing. This union and communion with Him will make your life happy, and your conduct holy. This will fill you with grateful sentiments, and make you very kind to your fellow creatures.

" Believing in Christ, and having found pardon, peace, and hope of everlasting happiness, by faith, you will not regret the loss of worldly friends. Paul could count all (riches, honours, pleasures of the world) loss and dung, that he might win Christ, and be found in him. Try to follow him. Having obtained the best, I hope you will be less anxious about smaller matters.

" You see, madam, by my prolixity, that I almost fancied myself to be in your company.

" That you and your dear husband may always, in health and in sickness, in riches and poverty, in time and eternity, be found in Jesus Christ, is the hearty prayer of,

" Madam,

" Your most obedient humble servant,

" C. F. SWARTZ.

" Pray make my best respects to Mr. and Mrs.

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——. Though I never have seen them, yet, as fellow-christians, they are, and shall ever be, precious in my thoughts."

The three succeeding years were distinguished, throughout the Carnatic and the south of India, by the complicated horrors of war, desolation, and famine. The sluices which irrigate the country were destroyed by Hyder's troops, and the inhabitants having no security for their crops, did not sow their fields, and consequently could reap no harvest. They forsook the country, and fled in crowds to the towns, where the scarcity rose to a fearful height. During this long and trying period of visitation and calamity, the prudence and foresight, and the pious and active benevolence of Swartz, were eminently conspicuous, both in providing for the support of those immediately dependent upon the mission, and in alleviating the distress and misery of multitudes of the perishing natives around him.

Thus he writes, in September 1783, to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

"The last three years have been years of sorrow and anxiety: notwithstanding which, we have no reason at all to murmur, or to find fault with God's ways, which are very just and equal; and the judgments which have befallen us, may perhaps be more conducive to the true welfare of the country than we conceive. This year God's fatherly goodness has preserved and strengthened us for his service. All the four catechists are alive, as is likewise the Ta-

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mulian schoolmaster. Besides these five, I have taken two more upon trial, who have been educated in the mission school at Tranquebar: both seem to be truly religious. Our congregation has received an increase of upwards of a hundred: most of them, it is apprehended, have been compelled, by the famine, to come to us: nevertheless I have given them the necessary instruction, and this for the space of several months; during which I have also procured them some provisions. The teaching them was attended with much difficulty and fatigue, on account of the great decrease of their mental powers. Yet I could not persuade myself that it would be consistent with the will of God to put these poor people off; many of whom afterwards died. As the famine was so great, and of so long continuance, those have been affected by it who seemed to be beyond its reach. A vigorous and strong man is scarcely to be met with: in outward appearance, men are like wandering skeletons.

"When I returned from Seringapatam, I saw reason to apprehend an approaching war: this induced me to buy rice whilst it was at a low price, which proved of great benefit to our catechists. Besides this, God moved the hearts of some Europeans to send me a portion monthly to distribute among the people lying on the road, by which means numbers of them have been saved from perishing. This benefaction is continued to this day, so that about a hundred and twenty persons are constantly fed.

"When it is considered that Hyder Ali has car-

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ried off so many thousands of people, and that many thousands have died of want, it is not at all surprising to find not only empty houses, but desolated villages—a mournful spectacle indeed!"

In a letter to one of his friends, Swartz more minutely describes the distress which prevailed at this calamitous period, in and around Tanjore, and the seasonable relief which his foresight, good sense, and influence with the natives, enabled him to afford.

"We have suffered exceedingly in this fortress from hunger and misery. When passing through the streets early in the morning, the dead were lying in heaps on the dunghills."

He then mentions his provident purchase already alluded to, of twelve thousand bushels of rice. "Unfortunately," he continues, "there was no magazine in the fort for the native soldiers or sepoys. The king and the Company requested me twice to procure provisions for the garrison, since they were unable to obtain oxen for the carriages, for want of a good understanding with the natives. In this dilemma I wrote to the inhabitants, desiring them to bring their cattle, and promising them payment on my own responsibility. This had the desired effect; the oxen were brought, and the garrison supplied, at the very moment when a fresh attack from the enemy was expected. I afterwards settled with the natives, and they went home quite satisfied. The Lord also enabled me to consider the poor; so that I had it in my power to feed a large number for the space of

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seventeen months. Often eight hundred poor people assembled. Several Europeans sent sums of money for this charitable purpose; but instead of giving them the money, I prepared food and distributed it, many of them having no utensils for cooking. Such distress I never before witnessed, and God grant I never may again."

Writing a few months afterwards from Trichinopoly, he says, "Our Fort contained the best part of the inhabitants of the country, who flocked hither to escape the unrelenting cruelty of the enemy. Daily we conversed with these people, and tried to convince them of the vanity of their idols, and to induce them to turn to the living God. They readily own the superior excellence of the christian doctrine, but remain in their deplorable errors for various frivolous reasons.

"It were to be wished," he piously adds, "that the country people, having suffered nearly four years all manner of calamity, would consider the things which belong to their eternal welfare, for which my assistants pray and labour in conjunction with me. But though the fruit of our labour has not hitherto answered our wishes, still I am happy in being made an instrument of Providence to instruct some, and to warn others. Who knows but there may come a time when others may reap what we are sowing?"

Whilst Swartz was thus naturally and justly anxious to avail himself of the opportunity of addressing "a word in season" to the famishing natives around

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him, his general caution, as well as his christian wisdom and kindness, are well expressed by Mr. Pohlé in a letter to the Society, after spending a few days with him during this period at Tanjore.

"He is very careful," he observes, "with regard to receiving both heathen and Roman Catholics into the church. He has nothing to do with people that want only to be fed, or that are unknown vagabonds. But such as are known, and wish to be Christians, and, after being received, to eat the labour of their own hands, them it would be unjust to reject, though they should want a little assistance during the time of their preparation. They must live from hand to mouth; and it would be cruel not to assist them under pretence of a supposed hypocrisy, or lest it should be looked upon as buying Christians for money."

The Madras government was but ill prepared for the formidable attack of the Mysorean chief. Their treasury was exhausted, their councils divided, and their native allies but little to be trusted. Several of the forts held by the troops of the nabob were surrendered, after a slight resistance, to the enemy. A detachment of English troops under Colonel Baillie, in attempting to join the commander-in-chief, Sir Hector Munro, was cut off; the greater part of the corps perished on the field; and the remainder, including two hundred Europeans, were taken prisoners, and consigned to the dungeons of Seringapatam. Hyder, elated by his successes, and encou-

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raged by the French officers who directed the movements of his army, indulged the hope of conquering the Carnatic, and of expelling the English from that portion of the Peninsula. At this important crisis, Mr. Hastings, the governor-general of Bengal, interposed to rescue the British army and the possessions of the Company from the dangers which surrounded them. He suspended the governor of Fort St. George, and despatched Sir Eyre Coote, who had long before distinguished himself as an officer of the highest military reputation, with a reinforcement of troops, to assume the chief command at Madras. He immediately took the field, and, notwithstanding the difficulties with which he had to contend in a country converted almost into a desert by the destructive warfare of Hyder, raised the siege of several places which he had invested, and defeated him in four pitched battles. In the mean time Mr. Hastings prevailed upon the Mahrattas to withdraw from their alliance with Hyder; and though he had received a strong reinforcement of French troops, and his son Tippoo, who took an active share in the war, had succeeded in cutting off a considerable body of troops under Colonel Braithwaite, on the banks of the Coleroon, the British army, both on the coast of Coromandel and on the side of Malabar, made such vigorous efforts that Hyder was unable to face it in the open field, and the contest with this formidable enemy assumed a far more favourable aspect.

The christian character of Swartz attracted, during this perilous crisis, universal confidence and esteem;

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and so powerfully had his conduct impressed Hyder Ali himself in his favour, that amidst his cruel and desolating career, he gave orders to his officers "to permit the venerable padre to pass unmolested, and to show him respect and kindness; for he is a holy man, and means no harm to my government."

He was generally allowed to pass through the midst of the enemy's encampments without the slightest hindrance; and such was their delicacy of feeling towards him, that when it was thought necessary to detain his palanquin, the sentinel was directed to assign as a reason, that he was waiting for orders to let him proceed. Thus, when the whole country was overrun by Hyder's troops, the general reverence for the character of *the good father* (as he was emphatically called) enabled him to pursue his peaceful labours even in the midst of war.

An interesting anecdote connected with this distressing season is related by Christian David,[1] whose father was a convert of Swartz, and who had himself waited, when a boy, on the apostolic missionary. They had been travelling all day, and arriving at a small village at sunset, the good man sat down under a tree and conversed with the natives, who came round him, while his horse-keeper was cooking their evening meal. When the rice and curry were spread on the plantain leaf, Swartz stood up to ask a blessing on the food they were going to share, and to thank God for watching over them through the dangers of the day, and providing so richly for their repose and

[1] Ordained by Bishop Heber at Calcutta.

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comfort. His heart was full of gratitude, and expressed itself in the natural eloquence of prayer and praise. The poor boy for some time repressed his impatience, but his hunger at last overpowered his respect for his master, and he ventured to expostulate, and to remind him that the curry would be cold. He describes very touchingly the earnestness and solemnity of the reproof he received. "What!" said he, "shall our gracious God watch over us through the heat and burden of the day, and shall we devour the food which he provides for us at night with hands which we have never raised in prayer, and lips which have never praised him!"[1]

It would be unjust to the memory of Mr. Gericke not to mention the signal services which he rendered to the cause of humanity, when in the year 1782 the town of Cuddalore capitulated to the French and their allies of Mysore. Upon that critical occasion he prevailed on the French general not to deliver up the town to the troops of Hyder Ali, and was thus instrumental in preserving it from devastation and ruin. He concealed in his own house several English officers, and rescued them from the train of miseries in which many others were involved, who unhappily fell into Hyder's hands. The mission church, however, was converted into a magazine, and the garden entirely destroyed. Mr. Gericke after a few months proceeded to Madras; and from this time Cuddalore ceased to be one of the principal branches of the Society's missions.

[1] Archbishop Robinson's "Last Days of Bishop Heber," p. 14.

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During the whole of the afflicting period described in the preceding extracts, the missionaries at Tanjore and Trichinopoly were permitted to enjoy comparative security and comfort. Thus Swartz devoutly acknowledges this merciful exemption:

"We adore the Divine goodness, which has preserved my fellow-labourers and me, in the midst of calamities. While the sword, famine, and epidemic sickness swept away many thousands, we have enjoyed health, and have been accommodated with all necessaries. May we never forget the various mercies which God has bestowed upon us!"

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CHAPTER XII.

Death of Hyder Ali—Continuation of the war by Tippoo Sultan—Return to Madras, and death of Sir Eyre Coote—Success of Colonel Fullarton in Southern India—Negociation for peace—Lord Macartney requests Mr. Swartz to join the Commissioners at Seringapatam—He consents, and sets out on the journey—Letters to Mr. Sullivan—Meets Colonel Fullarton and his army—He is stopped by Tippoo's officers at Sattimungalum—Returns to Tanjore—Declines attempting a second journey—Peace concluded with Tippoo—Letters to several friends on the preceding events—Journey with Mr. Sullivan to Ramanad—Plan of the provincial schools—Journey, on account of his health, to the coast—Letters to Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Duffin.

At the close of the year 1782, Hyder Ali, the most powerful and able opponent of the British dominion in India who had hitherto appeared, died at an advanced age at Chittore. He was succeeded in the empire, to which his civil and military talents had raised him, by his son Tippoo, who, though not equal to his father in general ability, was not deficient either in bravery or military skill, and inherited both his ambition and his implacable enmity to the English authority. The war continued, therefore, to be prosecuted with vigour, and, on the part of the Mahomedan Sultan, (for such was the title which he

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assumed on the death of Hyder,) with unrelenting severity.

The dissensions which at this time unhappily prevailed between the civil and military authorities at Madras, prevented them from availing themselves of the advantage which so important an event had thrown into their hands. Sir Eyre Coote was, in consequence, again sent to take the command in the Carnatic; but that gallant veteran, worn out with former toils, sank under the return of complaints from which he had previously suffered, and expired early in 1783, two days after his arrival at Madras, and a few months only after the decease of Hyder Ali, whose career he had so successfully checked.

Tippoo, considering the western coast of India as having become the principal seat of the war, withdrew his troops from the Carnatic. The English, in consequence, attacked Cuddalore, which was then in the possession of the French; but before they could reduce it, news having arrived of peace in Europe between the two nations, the French commander suspended offensive operations, and withdrew his countrymen from the service of Tippoo. In the mean time the English became decidedly superior on the western coast, and in the south the brilliant campaign of Colonel Fullarton was rapidly restoring the British ascendency. Caroor and Dindegal, and afterwards Palgaut and Coimbetore, were reduced; and he was preparing to ascend the Ghauts, and anticipating the conquest of Mysore, when he was suddenly arrested in his triumphant progress,

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and directed to restore all his recent conquests. Tippoo had applied for two English commissioners to proceed to his camp, and enter into negociations for a treaty of peace; and the Madras government, alarmed at the failure of their resources for the continuance of the war, with doubtful policy, complied with his request.

From his well-known integrity and ability, and from his superior acquaintance with the native languages, of which the commissioners were ignorant, Swartz was requested by the governor of Madras to join them, as their interpreter with the sultan of Mysore.

The following is Lord Macartney's letter to him upon this subject:

"SIR,

"My knowledge of your excellent character, and of the cheerfulness with which, on several occasions, you have lent your assistance to the public service, encourage me to request it, on behalf of the Company, in one of very great importance, which now presents itself.

"You doubtless know that commissioners from this government are now on the road to Tippoo Sultaun, to complete the pacification settled by the treaty in Europe. The commission now consists of Anthony Sadlier, George Leonard Staunton, and John Hudleston, Esqrs.; and the request I have to make to you, is, that you would join them on the road, and act as their interpreter with Tippoo Sul-

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taun. By complying with this request, you will render essential service to the public, and confer an obligation on the Company, as well as on him who is, with much esteem,

Sir,

" Your most obedient humble, servant,

" MACARTNEY.

" Fort St. George, December 3rd, 1783."

The reply to a request expressed in terms so honourable to the excellent missionary was communicated through Mr. Sullivan,[1] then the Resident at Tanjore. With this able and estimable servant of the Company, whose energy and address had revived public confidence after the defeat of Colonel Braithwaite, and who was charged with a general superintendence over the southern provinces, Swartz was in habits of friendly and confidential intercourse. Thus, at the commencement of the year 1783, he briefly expressed to him his cordial good wishes and prayers.

" Something or other has prevented me from writing a line to you. In my heart I have wished you at all times, and consequently, at the beginning of this new year, divine grace, health, and true joy of heart, in the midst of all troubles. I can guess, ay, and more than guess, what you must have felt for several things. Though we move slow," (probably referring to the military proceedings in the south of India, in the planning of which Mr. Sullivan is sup-

[1] The present Right Honourable John Sullivan.

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posed to have taken a prominent part,) " may we move sure by the help of God!"

Another letter from Mr. Swartz, about this time, contains the report of a conversation with the rajah, in which he had acted as interpreter, relative to the devastation of the country by Tippoo and the English troops, and in which Mr. Sullivan promised that the matter should be represented in the proper quarter. Again, in August of the same year, he thus writes:

" The beginning of my letter must be an apology for troubling you." He then mentions several claims on the rajah, on the part of the families of two British officers, and intercedes for the town-major, who was in danger of losing his situation. " Surely, my dear Sir," he continues, " all the apologies which I can make, will not clear me of the imputation of being shameless. But I know to whom I write. May you be blessed with health, and cheerfulness of mind! May you be an instrument of Providence for the welfare of this country!"

With the same readiness to do good, and to promote the restoration of peace, and with the same disinterested regard of all personal considerations, which had actuated him upon a former occasion, Swartz informed Lord Macartney, through Mr. Sullivan, that " his repugnance to a political mission, though great, had yielded to his desire of rendering the Company any service within his power." Yet so anxious was he to guard against whatever might be in the slightest degree inconsistent with his sacred character, that

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before any definitive arrangement was made, he wrote the following letter to that gentleman; which is strikingly characteristic of the pure and elevated principles by which he was invariably governed.

"DEAR SIR,

"I forgot to mention to you, though I talked of it before Mr. Hippisley,[1] viz. that as Colonel Fullarton has required stores, powder, &c., it has, as I think, too much the appearance of hostilities. You know that I am willing to do what little service I can for the benefit of the poor country; but should not wish to have even the remotest appearance of deceit. If you supply Colonel Fullarton with the stores for which he has sent Captain Maitland, I cannot conceal my doubts and apprehensions; particularly as I heard of General M——'s march. Let me, I beseech you, know what you intend to do, before I give my final answer in writing to Lord Macartney. You, I am sure, would not wish that I should appear an impostor, or as a tool to forward anything but what is perfectly agreeable to my office. I am always,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"December 6th, 1783."

The difficulty, so conscientiously and simply

[1] The late Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart., then Paymaster at Tanjore.

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stated, having doubtless been satisfactorily obviated, Swartz left Tanjore for Coimbetore, by way of Dindegal and Darapuram, intending to proceed from thence by the shortest route, through the Gudgeratty pass, to join the commissioners at Seringapatam.

On arriving at Trichinopoly, he again wrote to Mr. Sullivan, for the purpose of introducing to his notice Mr. John Kohlhoff, whom he deputed to supply his place during his absence from Tanjore.

"Trichinopoly, December 17th, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,

"After I had sent away my letters to you and Mr. Hippisley, I was sensible of a neglect. I intend to send my young friend Mr. Kohlhoff to you, to read prayers every Sunday. I therefore request you and Mr. Hippisley, that you will be so kind as to countenance him in his business. He will, I am sure, be thankful for any friendly correction, and grateful for your protection.

"I am, &c.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The following extracts, from a series of letters to Mr. Sullivan, during his journey, will be found interesting, both as throwing light on the state of the country, and the war in that part of India, at this critical period, and as illustrative of the character of Swartz, both as a Christian and a man. His intelligence and information, his zeal, tempered with prudence, his anxiety to promote the interests of the

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British government, his acuteness of observation, and his talents for business, are everywhere conspicuous.

" Dindegal, December 20th, 1783.

" This evening I arrived here in perfect health. I praise God for his protection. All along I have been delighted with the mountains, and have frequently applied the words of the psalmist, who, speaking of the heavens, says, that they ' declare the glory of God.' May we not, nay, ought we not to say, that the mountains declare the same? God is great, and appears wise, good, and omnipotent in all his works."

After acknowledging a letter from Mr. Sullivan, containing " the proposals," probably for accommodation with Tippoo, he says that the commanding officer at Dindegal told him of a new detachment of the enemy's troops being out, and advised him to wait till he could proceed with safety, as this might hinder the negotiation. He accordingly remained two or three days, for farther information as to the hostile party; and after mentioning several reports, he adds, " I will write no more, lest I fill my letter with idle guessing."

On the 24th he left Dindegal, accompanied by a Jematdar's party of horse, and some sepoys, to protect him from the colleries, (marauders,) who were sometimes troublesome; and on the evening of the 26th, he reached Darapuram, where he heard a false report of two hundred of the enemy's horse hovering about, and informed Mr. Sullivan that Roschen

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Chan, Tippoo's commander in Coimbetore, waited to know the number of his followers before he sent his passport. "The district of Darapuram," he says, "is delightful and fertile, with a great deal of small grain on the ground. The inhabitants have left the place: but Lieutenant Tolfrey, who came with me, is ordered to collect grain. I translated the orders which promise protection, and all possible encouragement to the inhabitants, into the Malabar language, and went out yesterday, and assured the few people to be met with, of the best treatment. They seemed to be pleased. Some were soon seen, and others expected. The Fort is destroyed, and the houses quite pulled down. It is amazing how so many houses were so totally destroyed in so short a time."

In his next letter, Swartz pointedly expresses his astonishment at the unexpected, and, as he evidently thought, the impolitic orders sent by the Madras commissioners to Colonel Fullarton, to restore the places which he had lately reduced, which checked him in the midst of his successful career.

"Camp, in sight of Coimbetore, Dec. 30th, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,

"This morning, early, I saw the army, and, to my surprise, marching. Not long after, I had the pleasure of seeing Colonel Fullarton.[1] With him I

[1] Not long since, Mr. Kohlhoff, referring to this period, in conversation with Bishop Wilson, mentioned that Colonel Fullarton, while expecting Swartz to join him, requested his officers to treat him with respect; but that the precaution was unnecessary—for that the appearance of the venerable missionary at once inspired reverence, and his cheerfulness and attentive conversation soon won their affection.

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went to the place which they had marked out for encamping. He told me that he had received strict orders to quit Palacatcherry, Coimbetore, and of course the whole rich crop, which, as to the Sirkar[1] share, would have sufficed to maintain the whole army for a year, nay, more than that. I asked him whither he was to move. He replied, 'To Dindegal, &c.' 'Alas!' said I, 'is the peace so certain that you quit all, before the negotiation is ended? The possession of these two rich countries would have kept Tippoo in awe, and would have inclined him to give you reasonable terms. But you quit the reins, and how will you manage that beast?' The Colonel said, 'I could not help it. I have written in strong terms to government,' &c. Just now I write a letter to Roschen Chan. When that is sent off, I shall converse with the Colonel, and then give you the sum of all. The letters which I have brought, he is now reading, and particularly those proposals sent to me, with your observations. But as you have given up Palacatcherry and Coimbetore, I look upon those proposals almost as ineffectual. Perhaps things may be better than I at present think. If so, I shall be happy in rejecting my mistaken fancy.

"Coimbetore is truly a pleasant country. The inhabitants, I hear, were much pleased with the mild treatment they met with from Colonel Fullarton. The last affair, wherein Captain Temple lost his life, was, it seems, quite designed to disperse the inha-

[1] Government.

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bitants who came together to cut the crop, and to assist the English. Roschen Chan sent the Colonel a letter, intimating that it was done without his order. But their threatening the inhabitants, and desiring them for the future not to assist the English, is a full evidence of their wicked design.

"God bless you and all your family.

"I am, &c.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The preceding letter was enclosed the next day in the following:

"Camp at Parapetly, about 12 miles from Coimbetore, on the road to Darapuram, Dec. 31st, 1783.

"As I had not received the passport, I was obliged to march to-day with the camp, and of course to go back more than twelve miles. About noon, Roschen Chan sent his people, and desired me to come first to his camp. To-morrow morning I set out, and begin the new year as a pilgrim."

He again laments that the country was given up to Tippoo before the negotiation was completed, and then continues:

"In six or seven days I hope to be at Seringapatam. I requested of the Colonel to give me a few good palankeen boys, on account of the former ones, from whom I have suffered a great deal: the gentlemen who saw me in that condition, thought that they would throw me down. To-day I rather

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marched on foot with Captain Cochran than chose to be tossed up and down by those sad palankeen boys. Within two or three days, the Colonel will be at Dindegal. I foresee that the feeding of this army will give you great uneasiness.

"May God bless you at all times, particularly in the ensuing new year! May we see better days than we have experienced the last three years!"

From Captain Wheeler, who commanded at Palacatcherry, he procured some teak plants for Mr. P. Sullivan, Mr. Hippisley, and his own servants at the Malabar Church.

In a letter from Darapuram, dated January 22d, 1784, Swartz informs Mr. Sullivan of his leaving the camp, and going to Roschen Chan, and from him to Panden Palleam, where he was again detained a day and a half. From thence he advanced to Sattimungalum, the fort near the pass. Here the killedar refused to permit him to proceed any farther without an express order from Tippoo, which it would require ten days to receive. He was under the necessity of submitting, and accordingly waited eleven days in the Fort, without being allowed to walk out, or take the air. At length the killedar said he could obtain no order; and Swartz was, in consequence, obliged to return to Roschen Chan. Before he reached that officer, Navas Beg succeeded to the command, and sent to say that he was sorry he had been stopped, and that he might now go through the pass.

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"This is the short story," he adds, "of my disappointment. Some say, that as the peace was concluded, Tippoo did not wish to have more people come to him. Others have different conjectures, with which it would be improper to trouble you. I am sorry that the whole intention of Lord Macartney and yours, and, I may add, mine has been frustrated. However, if a solid peace be concluded, no matter who was present or absent. To-morrow I shall leave this place, and I hope to wait on you in eight days. May a merciful God direct all negotiation to the welfare of this poor distressed country!

"The gentlemen commissioners have been called by Tippoo to the other coast at Mangalore, where he still is."

From Dindegal, on the 30th of January, Swartz wrote to Mr. Sullivan that he had been detained some days on account of parties of Tippoo's horse being on the road, and making depredations; which did not look, he said, very friendly; that Captain Maitland wrote to Navas Beg not to molest the people; who answered, that the English having given up Darapuram, had now nothing to do with the people, and complaining that we had not kept our word in delivering up Palacatcherry.

"For my part," he says, "I wish we had never promised; or if we had, that we had kept it strictly. The reproach of breaking promises becomes loud and general.

"May God bless you in all respects!" He then adds, with admirable foresight and prudence; "As

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it is not improbable that hostilities may still be carried on, it would be very good if the king of Tanjore would hasten the cutting of the paddy as much as possible."

Such was the unexpected termination of his second intended expedition to Seringapatam. It was, however, the occasion of the following distinguished testimony to the singular excellence and value of his character from Colonel Fullarton, who thus mentions his visit to the army which he commanded, in a letter to the government of Madras.

"On our second march we were visited by the Rev. Mr. Swartz, whom your Lordship and the Board requested to proceed as a faithful interpreter between Tippoo and the commissioners. The knowledge and the integrity of this irreproachable missionary have retrieved the character of the Europeans from imputations of general depravity. A respectable escort attended him to the nearest encampment of the enemy, but he was stopped at Sattimungalum, and returned to Tanjore. I rejoice, however, that he undertook the business; for his journal, which has been before your board, evinces that the southern army acted towards our enemies with a mildness seldom experienced by friends in moments of pacification. From him, also, you learned that this conduct operated on the minds of the inhabitants, who declared that we afforded them more secure protection than the commanders of their own troops."[1]

[1] View of the British Interests in India.

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On the 4th of February the excellent missionary returned in health and safety to Tanjore, on which day Mr. Sullivan, in a letter to the governor of Madras, thus mentions him.

"Since your Lordship's letter of the 29th, we have no news from the northward. Mr. Swartz arrived this morning; the day before he left Sattimungalum, a merchant came to that place from Mangalore, and related that Curreem Sahib was in arrest, and that Mahomed Ali had poisoned himself; the disgrace of the latter is said to have arisen from his having taken under his protection the killedar who surrendered Mangalore to General Matthews, and who was doomed to punishment by Tippoo. Mr. Swartz will detail this event, and some other anecdotes to your Lordship."

Two days after his return to Tanjore, he wrote to Mr. Sullivan as follows:—

"I have thought on the letter to Lord Macartney" (doubtless containing the official report of his late journey) "the whole day, but one thing or other interposed. However, to-morrow I hope to send it to you, open for your perusal."

He then refers to the request of Mr. Sullivan to exert his influence with the natives, as on a former occasion.

"As to the inhabitants and their assisting us to bring in grain, I will cheerfully do what I can. What success I shall have, I cannot say; for I fear

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that the people, being oppressed by Baba,[1] have, in great measure, left the country, because they see themselves deprived of almost all the benefit of the crop.

"Your cowle[2] and that of the rajah will be necessary, though the sincerity of the latter will be much doubted.

"Alas! that the rajah should so far forget his own interest, by abandoning the inhabitants to the enormous exactions of his manager. One need not be superstitious to call that oppression a bad omen."

The anxiety of Lord Macartney that Swartz should be present at the negotiations at Mangalore, induced him to direct an application to be made to Tippoo Sultan to grant him a pass, who in reply expressed himself in the following words:—

"Agreeably to your desire, I have sent orders to the amildars of Sattimungalum to permit the Rev. Mr. Swartz to go to you through their districts."

The select committee at Fort St. George, in communicating this letter to the resident at Tanjore, observe, "We entertain a hope that his second attempt to join the commissioners may be attended with better success, more particularly if he were to take the route of Tellicherry. We are thus earnest on this point, as we are of opinion that great advantage may result to the negotiations from Mr. Swartz's assist-

[1] The rajah's sirkeel, or prime minister. The wretched state of Tanjore at this period will be fully noticed hereafter.

[2] A written agreement or engagement.

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ance, his knowledge of the language, and his distinguished integrity."

The following letter to his friends at Vellore explains his reasons for declining a second attempt to reach the commissioners, and gives some account both of his recent journey, and of his own feelings during this trying period.

"Tanjore, March 4, 1784."

"Hitherto a gracious God has preserved, guided, and comforted us. This is, and ought to be, our first consideration in the midst of all the calamities which we have experienced. How many dangers have we escaped—how many of our fellow creatures fell on our right hand and on our left; but God has hid us under the pavilion of his kind providence! The 103rd Psalm should be precious to us; for it expresses and magnifies all the divine benefits which God has so richly bestowed upon us. But not only in words ought we to express our gratitude, but in and by our lives. Surely God deserves to be obeyed by us, particularly as we only reap the benefit by it.

"I heartily wished to see you, and I entertained a lively hope, that in my return from the Mysore country I should meet you. But God has been pleased to lead me by another road."

Here he mentions his late expedition, his detention by Tippoo's officers, and his return to Darapuram. He then continues:

"To this day I do not know the reason why I was

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not permitted to proceed.[1] One said it was because Tippoo would not treat till Mangalore was in his possession. Some entertained other conjectures. I thank God for his mercy and providence over me. I should have been very glad if I could have been an instrument in that great work of peace-making. But who knows but there might have been temptations too great for me? In short, whatever God does is right, and the best for us. After my return, the governor desired that I would take a second trip by the way of Tellicherry; but having a severe scorbutic eruption on my legs, I found myself unable to go—I therefore declined it. Even now I am not free from that complaint. But if I had made another attempt, I could not have forced my way to Tippoo. If he refused to admit me, what could I do? Two refusals I met with. I wrote first from Tanjore, and the second time from Sattimungalum. To spend my time in roving about the country to little or no purpose was disagreeable. If government had sent me with the commissioners, I should have attended them. I entreat God to bless them with wisdom, resolution and integrity, to settle the business to the welfare of this poor country. But alas! we ourselves are so divided—one pulls one way, the other quite a different one. When one considers all, high and low, rich and poor, rulers and those that are ruled, one is struck with grief, and a variety of passions. What

[1] Colonel Wilks supposes that it was in conformity to the system of universal insult which Tippoo deemed requisite to his views.

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blindness, insensibility, and obstinacy, greediness, and rapaciousness! A thousand times I think with myself, 'Good God, must all these people *die*—must they all give a strict account of their lives—must they all appear before the tribunal of Jesus, the mediator and judge? How little do they mind their end, and the consequences of their lives!'

"But, however, in spite of all these horrid confusions, which are so prevalent upon earth, God has some likewise, who serve him faithfully though imperfectly. This morning we read the fourteenth chapter of the Revelation; wherein Jesus is represented as the lamb sacrificed for us, and our redemption, and with him 144,000, who had the name of God written on their foreheads. O that *we* may openly and sincerely confess the name of our God on all occasions! They were singing a new song, (and should not new mercies require a new song?) No one could learn that song save those 144,000. Whoever gives his heart to the world, will never be able to praise God sincerely. Surely every true believer gives his whole heart to the Lord Jesus. Those blessed ones follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. This is the sure evidence of our believing in Jesus. They at least do not adulterate the word of God. All the world is upon that scheme. Every one wishes to explain it according to his inclination—but that is pernicious. Let us then accept of the word of God, take it, use it, and practise it as it lies before us, even when it desires us to mortify our beloved sins. My sincere wish and prayer is, that

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you and I may be found true disciples of Jesus, and so at last rejoice with him eternally.

"I am your sincere friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The English commissioners, after a tedious and harassing journey, were conducted fromSeringapatam to Mangalore, where, amidst much studied mortification and insult, they at length succeeded in concluding a treaty of peace with Tippoo, on the 11th of March 1784.

"The goodness and mercy of God towards us," thus Mr. Swartz gratefully writes upon this occasion to Professor Freylinghausen, "have been unspeakably great during the whole of the war, and to the present moment. It is indeed of the Lord's mercies that we have not been consumed."

To another of his friends about this time he wrote as follows:—

"The war with Hyder and his son Tippoo is now ended. But notwithstanding, the misery is still great. Tippoo is augmenting his army every day. He is a much more enterprising soldier than his father. Every commandant who surrendered a fortress to the English he ordered to be hung. Having carried twelve thousand children captive from Tanjore, he compelled them all to become Mahommedans. He has done everything in his power to exterminate the Malabar Roman Catholics, in which he has so far succeeded, that no one dares to call himself a Christian. He will not have any subjects except such as

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are either heathens or Mahommedans. As for the former, they are almost entirely devoid of feeling; they hear the doctrines of the gospel explained, and even applaud them, and yet go on in their old way, as if they had heard nothing about it. Some Brahmins lately said to me, 'We have no objection to hear these things; but heavenly objects do not make much impression on us.' This avowal is certainly too true; and they are moreover so timid, that they would not dare to profess the faith of Christ before their relations. This is truly stony ground, which requires much seed, and returns but little fruit."

In the spring of this year, Swartz suffered considerably from weakness and exhaustion; and though he performed his various duties as usual, he was advised to try the effect of a journey to the coast for the restoration of his health. It is to these circumstances that he refers in the following truly apostolic letter to his friends at Vellore.

"Katternate, near Tanjore, July 10, 1784.

"My dear Friends,

"It is a long time since I had the pleasure of addressing you. Illness has prevented me. I can hardly describe to you the nature of my weakness. I felt no pain, but such a relaxation in my frame, that speaking, walking, &c. fatigued me, so that often I could scarcely stand. This I felt during April and May. When we were favoured with some refreshing showers, I revived a little; and at present

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I am much better, though still weak. But enough of this. Age comes upon me: I have no reason therefore to wonder at weakness.

"If the mind be sound, all is well; the rest we shall quit when we enter into the grave. That will cure all our bodily indispositions. On this subject I meditate frequently. And, O! may God grant me grace to do it more effectually, that I may number my (perhaps very few) days. Eternity is an awful subject, which should be continually in our mind.

"I know, I feel it, that I have no righteousness of my own, whereon I would dare to depend for eternal happiness. If God should enter with me into judgment, what would become of me? But blessed, for ever blessed, be the adorable mercy of God, which has provided a sure expedient for guilty man. The atonement of Jesus is the foundation of my hope, peace, love, and happiness. Though I am covered all over with sin, the blood of Jesus cleanseth me from all mine iniquities, and sets my heart at rest. Though I am a corrupted creature, the Spirit of Jesus enlighteneth, cheereth, and strengtheneth us to hate and abominate all sin, and to renounce the lusts of the world and the flesh. Though the day of judgment is approaching, the love of God comforts us so far as to have boldness to appear before our Judge; not as if we were innocent creatures, but because we are pardoned, washed, and cleansed in the blood of Christ.

"O! my dear friends, an interest in the atonement of Jesus, and a participation in the graces of

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his Spirit; these constitute a Christian, these cheer and strengthen the heart, these glorify God, and prepare for heaven.

"Let us daily, therefore, come before God through the blessed Jesus; but let us, at the same time, not neglect the second point, viz. our sanctification. Our time is short. Within some days, I have sojourned in this country thirty-four years. The end of my journey is, even according to the course of nature, near. May I not flag! May my last days be the best! But as long as we live together upon earth, let us admonish and stir up one another.

"Remember me to Mrs. F. ——, and tell her not to overvalue the pleasures of the world, but to let her mind feed on pleasures which are substantial and permanent. I am to take a journey near the sea. Perhaps the sea air may brace me up a little. I shall remember you in my poor paternosters, and, if I can, send you another line from the sea shore. Farewell! May grace, peace, and divine mercy follow you at all times!

"I am, my dear friends,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

C. F. SWARTZ."

Soon after the date of the preceding letter, Mr. Sullivan requested Swartz to accompany him into the Marawar country, as he was afraid of trusting to a native interpreter. To this he willingly acceded, both on account of his health, and as it would afford him many opportunities of preaching to the natives. It

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was in the course of this journey that Mr. Sullivan took occasion to suggest to him a plan, the tendency of which seemed to be eminently calculated to promote the moral improvement of the natives, and ultimately the diffusion of Christianity in India.

"At Ramanadapuram,"[1] he writes, "the conversation turned on the education of youth. Mr. Sullivan observed, that it might be of great importance to establish English schools in every province. 'In the first place, he said, 'the children, and the parents through their means, would become better acquainted with the principles and habits of Christians, and their obstinate attachment to their own customs would be shaken. The schoolmasters, if pious men, would exhibit the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, both to children and parents; a freer intercourse will be opened between natives and Europeans; and the children, being instructed in the English language, would not need to rely on deceitful interpreters.' The proposal was highly agreeable to me, though I foresaw great difficulties in the execution of it. I asked where we should obtain schoolmasters; to which he answered, that a seminary should be erected at Tanjore for their education, and several active young men should be sent for from Germany. On inquiring who would be at the charge of their salaries, he replied, 'The petty princes of the provinces; and observed, that it would be much better if a small village were granted for the purpose. Accordingly, we spoke to

[1] Ramanad is the greater Marawar.

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the rajah of Ramanadapuram on the subject. 'It would be an excellent plan,' said he, 'and I wish there were such schools in every village.' His minister promised to explain the case, as it related to the salary, to his master. We therefore said no more on that point. On further consideration, however, he thought it more advisable to obtain a written promise from the rajah to settle a sum on the school, to be paid every month; and to this he readily consented."

From Ramanadapuram Swartz proceeded to Shevagunga,[1] where he made a similar proposal to the principal man of the place, who also approved it, and promised to give a village for the support of a schoolmaster. Lord Macartney and the nabob of Arcot were afterwards made acquainted with the scheme, and both highly commended it.

On his return to Tanjore Mr. Sullivan addressed the king upon this interesting subject, in the presence of Swartz. His highness consented that such a school as they recommended should be established in or near the Fort, promising to allow forty pagodas (£16) a month for its support. Mr. Sullivan then appointed a salary of £60 to a schoolmaster, conceiving that with less he would not be able to maintain himself.

"Every year," adds Mr. Swartz, "the missionary at Tanjore or Trichinopoly must visit those schools; of course the expenses of such a journey must be defrayed from the fund; and if something remain, as

[1] The lesser Marawar.

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we hope, some soldiers' children or orphans should be freely educated and maintained."

The journey to Ramanadapuram proved very beneficial to his health; and in the month of September following, for the purpose of promoting the proposed plan of English schools, he proceeded to Tondi, on the coast of Coromandel. From this place he wrote on the 20th, to Mr. Sullivan, as follows:—

"Here I arrived on the 14th instant., and had the pleasure of finding Colonel F—— and the gentlemen of his detachment in good health. Till the 18th, I visited the Hanoverians, and performed daily divine service with them. On the 18th, they marched again to Tripatore; whether I shall follow them thither, I cannot say.

"Pray remember me to Mrs. M——. I wish her all true happiness. Tell her, in my name, that I wish she may live and die a sincere Christian, enjoying the favour of her Maker and Redeemer above all things in the world.

"If you should find an opportunity of being an advocate for orphans, I know you will not forget it. If you think it proper to present my respects to Lord Macartney, I request you to do it. You are the best judge of it. *Cura ut valeas.* Your health, I hope and am persuaded, will be a blessing not only to yourself, but to the public also."

In a second letter from Tondi, on the 29th of

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September, referring to the mission in which he was engaged, respecting the establishment of provincial schools, Swartz observes,—

"Neither will I despair, nor entertain too sanguine hopes; leaving all to an over-ruling Providence. The proposal is, as I think, good; and would be beneficial to the country in more than one respect."

He then mentions that the military commander had cut down more than a thousand Palmeira trees for building bungalows for the troops. "The natives," he says, "wept; these trees forming a dowry for their daughters." He therefore proposes a small compensation to be paid by Colonel F——, not to the sirkar, but with his own hands.

"I am happy," he adds, "to hear that your health is rather mending. *Ex animo opto precorque ut animus sit sanus in corpore sano.* Take care of both —body as well as soul. Remember me to your friends. Yours are mine."

On his return to Tanjore in October, he informed Mr. Sullivan, who was then absent, that he had received an answer from the Pradani of Ramanad, stating that the rajah had resolved to allow for the proposed school, monthly, twenty-four pagodas. "Whether this will meet with your approbation or not," he says, "I know not. Some people think that a monthly payment is uncertain, and a sort of monthly begging, attended with trouble, and struck off as soon as they are tired. The Shevagunga man has written to me that he would make a small addition.

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However, I hope all will be better settled when you return to us. May God establish your health, and bless you with peace and cheerfulness of mind!"

A few days afterwards, he again wrote to Mr. Sullivan as follows:—

"Your favour of the 10th inst. gave me all possible satisfaction. It was but right that the nabob should be acquainted with the plan of the schools; otherwise he would have looked upon it with uneasiness. I have informed the honourable Society[1] that you, on one Sunday, (a good thought and speech on a Sunday,) had proposed to me such a plan; that I hoped to give them a fuller account of it next year. The pradani assures me, that his master is willing to pay the schoolmaster, and that I may send the man. The Shevagunga man has assigned two small villages for the maintenance of a school. If we were sure of plenty of rain, it might be well enough. But the vakeel told me, that I must not make any great account of it; but rather try to get a good village near Arentangi, (commonly Ardingi,) because there is more water; and it is the same place which your dubash pointed out.

"For the generous present of the Malabar dictionaries for the benefit of schools, I thank you heartily. I trust that a merciful God may make you a happy instrument of benefiting this poor disregarded country. I shall be unspeakably happy to

[1] For promoting Christian Knowledge.

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spend the little strength God gives me, to forward the affair, and so fulfil your kind desires.

"Mr. Hallam told me this morning, that you are not well. Now, dear Sir, hear the voice of a friend, (*vox amici vox Dei.*) Abstain a good deal from business, and give your body a fair chance of recovering. Be sure your health is precious to me, and to many.

"I truly condole with you on the death of your dear sister. To be resigned to the will of God, is our duty and happiness too. Unspeakably happy are they, who, being prepared for a better world, quit this aceldama. May God, by his blessed Spirit, fit us for that grand transition every day!"

In a subsequent letter in November, Swartz forwarded to Mr. Sullivan an earnest request from Ramanadapuram, that Colonel Martinez might be continued in the command at that place, and mentioned various circumstances which proved his benevolent activity in doing good, particularly to the poor. "At last," he says, "I would and should make a long apology for my impertinence; but as I write to *you*, I think it unnecessary."

Early in December, he communicated to Mr. Sullivan the report of an intended invasion on the part of Tippoo, and suggested the expediency of purchasing paddy, in order to be prepared. He then adds, "I have got a new congregation—I mean the soldiers at Wallam, whom I am desired to visit. As often as I come, they receive me in a friendly manner, and attend divine worship decently, and take tracts.

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Nay, some learn to read; for which good purpose I have supplied them with spelling books. I have read the Sketch of English Government, translated by Mr. F——. At present this paper would do no good. Times ought to be more undisturbed for such a publication. This I merely refer to you.

"Here we have no rain, and therefore a dismal prospect. The small grain withers away; the paddy likewise looks ill. It seems as if God intended to punish this country again. And who can say anything against his judgments? Every one has reason to humble himself. Nay, the people begin to suspect Tippoo's intentions. May God have mercy on this poor nation, and spare them kindly!"

At the close of this year, Mr. Swartz addressed the following interesting letter to one of his valued friends at Vellore, who had requested his opinion as to some well-known writers of our church. After referring to his young friend J. Kohlhoff, who had written to inform them of his recent journeys, and had assured them that notwithstanding his advanced age, he performed his various duties with the same vigour and ability which he had manifested ten years before, he proceeds as follows:—

"At present, I am so far established in health, that my labour is rather delightful to me than troublesome, which was not the case in April and May. May God, who has bestowed so many blessings on me, a poor sinner, grant that the last days of my life

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may be well spent; that I may finish my course with peace, if not with joy.

"We are not only allowed, but even commanded, to 'rejoice in the Lord.' No joy has so good and firm a foundation, as that which is to be found in the Lord, who has bought us, redeemed us, and prepared for us all true happiness. Shall we not rejoice in his salvation, pardon, peace, strength, and kingdom? But whoever wishes to rejoice in the blessings purchased for us by Jesus Christ, must be in him, closely united to him, renouncing sin, and all the false pleasures of the world, and hungering and thirsting after him. This true union and communion with Jesus is the source of joy—the only source. From hence will follow a willingness to love, serve, obey, and glorify him as long as we live. Is it possible that we, who have found pardon, peace, and a lively hope of a glorious eternity in Jesus; that we, who have been made happy by him, should not wish and endeavour to live to his glory?

"But if, instead of trusting in Jesus and his consummate atonement, we trust and rely on our own virtue, and consequently stand upon our own foundation, we shall never enjoy a moment's peace and unshaken delight. Our virtue and holiness are, and must remain, imperfect. We shall, therefore, always have reason to confess before God, 'If thou wilt mark in my thoughts, designs, intentions, what is amiss, who shall stand before thee?' Let us, therefore, seek for pardon, peace, and joy in Jesus; and

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having found that, let us be grateful and obedient. But though we should be as holy as any of the apostles, let us beware lest we put our confidence in anything but the sufferings and atoning death of Jesus Christ.

" In this grand fundamental article of true Christianity, I like none so much as good Bishop Beveridge. He forgets not to raise the superstructure of holiness; but he lays first the foundation in a true and lively trust in Jesus, as Paul likewise has done. Read Philippians iii. In the explanation of holiness, Archbishop Tillotson is excellent; but he does not so well, so clearly lay the foundation, as Beveridge, Hervey, and the first reformers. When thou comfortest my heart, then, and not till then, shall I run in the way of thy commandments. The divine commandments, well and spiritually considered, will convince us of our sinfulness and corruption, and, of course, condemn us. (Rom vii.) Being condemned by the law, as servants who owe to their Lord ten thousand talents, how shall we pay off our debt? By the few pence of our own virtue? No; but by the complete atonement made by Jesus Christ. This atonement of Jesus is offered in the gospel to every one who knows and feels his sinfulness, and wishes to be delivered from the curse he has deserved by it. To those who feel the burden of their sins, and groan under it, how inexpressibly sweet is and must be that tender invitation of Christ, (Matt. xi.) ' Come unto me, all ye that are weary

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and heavy laden, and I will give you rest;' by taking the burden from you.

"That you and your dear husband may rejoice in Jesus, here and in a blessed eternity, is the sincere wish of your old friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"P.S. Pray let us know how your school goes on. Are there some of the black people who profess Christianity? Is there any one who instructs them?

"As to the Malabar church which I have been building in the suburbs, General Munro encouraged me, by giving me fifty pagodas. But when I found that the stones which I needed for the foundation, cost twenty-five pagodas, without chunam,[1] I thought I should soon stop my mill for want of water; but the rajah having given me some gold cloths at the time of Lord Pigot's arrival, when the general was lately here, I took them to the merchants, who, to my agreeable surprise, valued them at one hundred and thirty-six pagodas, so that I could prosecute my plan without interruption. I hope that God, who has so graciously furnished me with the means of building a house of prayer, will fill it also with spiritual children, to the praise of his name. He is strong who hath promised us such glorious things. Read for that purpose my favourite chapter of Isaiah, xlix. verses 4—7, 18—20. I cheerfully believe that God 'will build the waste places' of this country. But

[1] Stucco.

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should it be done after we are laid in the grave, what harm? This country is covered with thorns; let us plough and sow good seed, and entreat the Lord to make it spring up. Our labour in the Lord, in his cause, and for his glory, will not be in vain."

How truly elevated and apostolic are these sentiments; and how powerfully have subsequent events proved the value of the labours of this eminent missionary, and tended to realize his cheering anticipation of the future progress of the gospel in India!

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CHAPTER XIII.

Swartz as a Preacher—Extract of a letter, from Mr. Kohlhoff to Dr. Buchanan, upon this subject—Substance of four MS. Sermons of Swartz.—Observations upon them.

THE conclusion of the letter in the preceding chapter, in which Mr. Swartz, with so much simplicity, mentions the disinterested liberality with which he contributed to the fund for building a church for the native Christians in the suburbs of Tanjore, may with propriety direct our attention to his character as a preacher. His religious principles, and even his views of christian doctrine, have been already amply developed, both in the extracts from his missionary journals, and in the letters to his friends in the former pages of this memoir. It may be useful, however, and interesting, to present a fuller and more distinct view of his ability and method, as a teacher of that gospel, which he so thoroughly understood, and so cordially loved, and of which he was so eminent and successful a minister. Swartz himself published nothing, either in the form of sermons, or any other religious instruction, except the dialogues between a Christian and a Heathen, which have been already

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mentioned,[1] as translated into the Tamul language. His original destination, and his principal employment as a missionary, requiring chiefly catechetical instruction, and the simple exposition of Scripture, the elaborate composition of discourses for the pulpit never formed a part of his stated occupation. Though from the period of his residence at Trichinopoly he was engaged in preaching to the British troops in garrison at that place, and afterwards at Tanjore, it was only occasionally that he wrote his sermons at length. Such is the account given by Mr. Kohlhoff, in a letter to the late Dr. Buchanan, from Negapatam, dated February 7th 1810, when transmitting, together with other materials for a memoir of his life, the only specimens which remain of his pulpit compositions.

"I have the pleasure," says this excellent man, "of sending you herewith two packets, containing four sermons of the late venerable Mr. Swartz, copied from those written by himself, and am sorry there are not more to be found among his papers. His work and labours would not allow him to write the whole of his sermons. He generally preached extempore, and only sometimes put down on paper the chief heads of his sermon, either in English or German. I have collected a good many of these from his papers, and shall transmit to you some of the former, by the next opportunity that offers."

The collection of notes, to which Mr. Kohlhoff

[1] See Chap. ix.

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refers, unhappily never arrived; but of the four sermons which Dr. Buchanan received, the following is the substance; and while it seems a sacred duty to rescue them from oblivion, their intrinsic excellence well deserves their insertion in this memorial of their revered author.

It was evidently his general practice to adopt some portion of Scripture which formed some part of the service for the day, as the subject of his discourse. Thus two of the sermons which have been preserved, appear to have been preached on Christmas Day, from Luke ii. 1—14; the second lesson for the morning of that joyful festival.

"The most superficial consideration," observes the judicious preacher, "of this history, will convince us of two remarkable circumstances respecting the birth of Jesus Christ. There is an intimation of the deepest humiliation of our Saviour, and there are, at the same time, very visible evidences of his greatness. Both circumstances must be considered; otherwise the birth of our Saviour will prove rather a stumbling-block to us than a divine means of raising our hearts to gratitude and praise.

"Jesus came into the world for a most extraordinary purpose,—to save that which was lost, to become the first-born, or head of the unhappy family of Adam. The consideration of this intention will clear up all our doubts, and convince us of the propriety of the humble circumstances in which he appeared; and none are or ever will be offended at his

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humiliation, but those who forget that they are sinners."

The first indication of our Saviour's humiliation to which Swartz refers, is the enrolment at Bethlehem, in pursuance of the decree of the Emperor Augustus, which was a mortifying proof that the Jewish nation was no longer free, but that God had, as in ancient times, delivered his people into the hands of the Gentiles.

"If," he says, "we heartily believe the true dignity of Jesus Christ, who was the Son of God, the Creator and Preserver of all things; if we look upon him, as Holy Scripture teaches us, as the heir of all things, and then consider how he appeared at Bethlehem, how his name was enrolled, we must acknowledge that he was made very low. The Son of God hid his glory, and condescended to be treated as the subject of a heathen emperor. "He took upon him the form of a servant,' that we, as holy Zacharias prophesied, 'might be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us.'

"A second proof of our Saviour's humiliation was his becoming a pilgrim, being born on a journey, as one who had no fixed habitation.

"Our first parents were placed in Paradise, in the garden which God had planted for them. But Jesus was born as a pilgrim, at an inn, even in a stable, and laid in a manger, and thus became like ourselves who were turned out of paradise into the desert of

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the world. This, as it is a striking proof of his humiliation, so is it of his immense love to mankind. He had deserved to be in the house of his father amidst the joyful acclamations and praises of angels; but, moved with divine compassion, he chose our condition, that he might restore us to his father's house, even to a heavenly paradise. Again; "He was born in *the night*." And what was our condition? 'Behold,' says the prophet Isaiah, 'darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee." Zacharias described in a similar manner the condition of the world at the coming of Christ, 'as sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death.' The Saviour appeared to procure for us 'the light of life.'

"The *poverty* which he suffered from the day of his birth was another proof of our Lord's deep humiliation. 'There was no room for him in the inn.' There was no provision made for him. He came, but none regarded him. Heaven and earth belonged to him as their maker and Lord; but though infinitely rich, for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be made rich—rich in heavenly, and even in temporal blessings, as far as is consistent with the welfare of our souls.

"O my brethren, here is a mirror of the transcendent love of your Redeemer. Look upon his poverty with the enlightened eye of faith; and how can you withstand his amazing love! Whatever blessings you enjoy, remember that you owe all

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to his meritorious poverty, by which he purchased for you all spiritual and temporal blessings. Lay, then, before him all your wants, trusting in his mediatorial power to supply them. You are poor, but behold, to those who acknowledge their poverty, and, sensible of their own inability to help themselves, hunger and thirst after righteousness, the riches of his grace are offered.

"At the same time, I entreat you to use every blessing, whether spiritual or temporal, to the glory of your Redeemer. If instead of thanking him for his bounty, you abuse it by rioting, drunkenness and intemperance, how will you answer for such heinous ingratitude?

"O that the view of our Saviour's humiliation might destroy all the seeds of pride in our souls! O that it might be the divine means of bringing us to a true knowledge of ourselves, and consequently to a deep-rooted humility! Whoever cherishes pride is ignorant of his true condition; he denies the necessity of Christ's humiliation, and becomes an unbeliever, who has no share in the merits of his Redeemer.

"Let us then entreat God to work in our hearts true humility from the consideration of that of our Lord, even from his very birth. Let us check all the sinful emotions of pride and haughtiness, and lay hold on the humility of Christ, as a part of the atonement made for our sins, that we may obtain pardon by it; and let us humbly thank and praise him for this his amazing love to mankind in redeem-

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ing them from all the effects of their pride and self-exaltation.

" Having considered the proofs of the deep humiliation which our blessed Redeemer suffered at his birth, let us now attend to the evidences of his dignity and greatness.

" These latter throw a most striking light upon the former, by teaching us how highly God was pleased with him, and consequently that the lowliness in which he appeared, was not on account of himself, but only of his being our mediator and surety. These proofs of the greatness of our Saviour dispel all our doubts, cheer and strengthen our faith in him, and make him appear in his divine brightness and glory, removing all the offence which without them we might take at the lowly circumstances of his birth.

" The first testimony of the Redeemer's greatness was the divine contrivance for gathering the whole nation of the Jews together. It is true, when we take a superficial view of it, we may think that there was nothing in the decree of Augustus which reflected honour upon the new-born Redeemer. But more mature consideration will convince us that the hand of Providence directed all these circumstances. Jesus was promised to the Jewish nation, as their king and deliverer from sin, from the power of the devil, and from eternal condemnation. It was therefore just and meet that the nation should be collected together at the time when their long-expected king appeared. Nor ought it to seem strange to us, since we know that God by his unsearchable wisdom

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orders all the occurrences of civil government to the purposes of his glory.

"A second proof of the dignity of Christ was the assembling of the angels, or children of heaven, to whom God manifested the riches of his mercy to a fallen world. The angels themselves were not so much concerned in the birth of Jesus as we are; but still we find it filled their hearts with joy and adoration. And ought it not to have the same effect upon us?

"Thirdly; the birth of our Saviour was immediately manifested to mankind, and that by the command of God, though at first only to a few, namely, to the shepherds who were watching over their flocks in the plains of Bethlehem. If you ask why the gospel of Christ was not proclaimed first to the high-priest, scribes and Pharisees, the answer is plain; because those priests were less qualified to receive the glad tidings of his birth. Their pride would have hindered them from perceiving the dignity of Jesus in the manger; but the humble shepherds were better prepared for the reception of that gospel, and therefore they were favoured with the intelligence of the new-born Saviour. 'Wherefore,' he saith, 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.'

"Fourthly; the messenger who was sent to publish the glad tidings of the birth of Jesus, was an angel, who appeared in bright glory, speaking of him in a very lofty manner. 'Fear not,' said he, to the affrighted shepherds, 'for unto you is born this day

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in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

" To-day God has begun to accomplish his divine promise concerning the salvation of mankind. The Saviour whom you stand in need of, and who has been promised by a merciful God, is Christ, who is able to save, being filled with the Holy Ghost; and not only so, but he is the Lord, our Lord and yours; he is truly God.

" That which the angel thus spake to the praise of Christ was not of his own mind, but by the command of God. From the day of the Redeemer's birth he began to glorify Jesus, in order to attract our hearts to trust in him.

" ' And suddenly a host' of heavenly spirits appeared, and, fired with the love of God, sang praises to him, proclaiming the salvation which the divine Redeemer was born to purchase. ' Glory to God in the highest.' Now is the blessed time when the glory of God, which has been concealed and darkened by sinful man, shall be illustrated. The glory of his mercy, holiness, righteousness, and truth, shall be displayed, not only by the doctrine, but by the sufferings and atonement of the Redeemer, to the intent that all mankind may fear and love him.

" ' And on earth, peace.' Now is the time when peace, which men had lost by the fall, by which they became obnoxious to the wrath of God, shall be established by the Saviour, who came to bear the curse mankind had deserved, and to restore them to the favour and blessing of the Almighty. A new founda-

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tion will thus be laid for their happiness. By the tidings of this peace mankind will be comforted, and induced to believe in God, to accept his grace, and to rejoice in him. 'Good will towards men.' As God will regard them with kindness, so will men begin to love God as their father. The image of God in which they were at first created will now be re-established.

"This is the purport of that angelic hymn which those children of heaven sang that very night when Christ was born, by which they joyfully proclaimed the unspeakable blessing which should be purchased by Jesus Christ, and by which God glorified him as the divine Redeemer of the world.

"Let us all, therefore, be animated to praise that blessed Saviour. His love towards mankind was truly great when he took upon him our nature. Our love to him should consequently be very lively, and show itself in all proper expressions. Let us draw near to him, adoring him for his inestimable loving-kindness; and let us entreat him to grant us divine light, grace, and blessing, that by us, as always, so particularly on these days, God may be glorified, true peace and reconciliation with him may be enjoyed, and a filial disposition and obedience towards him may be excited in our hearts by the gracious operation of the Holy Spirit. Amen!"

The second sermon upon this passage of Scripture dwells chiefly on the angelic message and the anthem of the heavenly host.

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" It was," he observes, " a most agreeable invita tion to joy which was addressed by a heavenly messenger, first to the poor shepherds, and not only to them, but to all who are concerned in the wonderful event proclaimed by that angelic preacher.

" All mankind wish for joy—what pity is it that they too commonly mistake the true source and foundation of it. Let us consider them as disclosed in our text.

" The very first word spoken by the angel is a spring of joy. ' Fear not.' They were alarmed at the glory which accompanied his appearance. This was a plain proof that they were of the race of sinners. Fear, or the apprehension of a threatening evil, is a sign that we have lost our original innocence. This was a plain proof that they were of the race of sinners. Fear, or the apprehension of a threatening evil, is a sign that we have lost our original innocence. No sooner did our first parents sin, than a fearful apprehension of punishment seized them. It is true, a wise and gracious God may and does use and direct our fear as a method of awakening us from the impending storm; but when we recur to its first origin, we must own it to be the sad effect of the fall. This fear we all feel, if we reflect on what passes in our hearts. Nay, even those who shamefully deny their Maker, saying, ' There is no God,' even they fear, and often where nothing is to be feared. So that all mankind are subject to this afflicting passion, because all are sinners.

" Is it not, therefore, matter of joy when a mer-

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ciful God sends a messenger from heaven, and bids us restrain our fear? How reviving is such an exhortation! It testifies of the tenderly compassionate heart of God towards us. He beholds us afflicted with fear; but he has provided an effectual remedy for curing it, and restoring us to true serenity and peace of mind.

" 'Behold,' said the angelic messenger, 'I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people; for unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord.' This is the gospel, the very essence and marrow of it, which God designed for the effectual comfort of mankind.

" The person of Christ is described by the angel. He describes him as David did in the 110th Psalm; 'The Lord said unto my Lord.' So majestic and divine a person has been sent. Well might the prophet call upon the world to rejoice. Of this divine person who was promised and foretold by the prophets, particularly Isaiah, it is said that he *is born* —that he left the throne of his majesty, and stooped very low to rescue us from our misery. This is the divine doctrine which affords rich matter of the highest and purest joy—that a Saviour has taken upon him our nature, and out of mere love to mankind is concerned in the highest degree for their salvation. O what wonderful love must have been in the heart of our compassionate Redeemer! Blessed are we who have so clear and certain an assurance of this astonishing transaction, with the distant light

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of which many pious kings and prophets were obliged to be contented, and in the prospect of which they rejoiced. How much more should we rejoice, who have so much better an opportunity of knowing the personal glory of our Redeemer!"

He next refers to the lowly and suffering condition in which the divine Redeemer appeared, as illustrating and aggrandising his love to mankind, on which he had enlarged in the preceding sermon, and then proceeds to the grand intention of his coming.

"There is not a sweeter name in heaven or earth than that of a SAVIOUR. It is the source of all our peace and joy. The hymn sung by the angelic host contains nothing more nor less than the consolation comprised in that blessed name.

"'Glory to God in the highest.' Now has that most delightful period arrived, when God and his adorable attributes and perfections shall be manifested and glorified. The Saviour is born to vindicate the glory of the wisdom, holiness, veracity, and love of his heavenly father, and at the same time to lay a solid foundation for the salvation of sinners. He is made obedient to the divine law, undertakes to endure its curse, and thus rescues mankind, and glorifies God. This was absolutely necessary. The knowledge of the mercy of God, without a deep impression of his holiness and justice, does not improve us, but rather tempts men to go on presumptuously in a course of sin. Look around you, my friends,

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and consider the reason of that general corruption which prevails amongst mankind, and you will find that the abuse of the divine mercy is one of its principal causes. Whereas, if we would devoutly consider the gospel, we should be convinced, that it displays at once the mercy, the holiness, and the justice of the Almighty.

"By this we perceive the divinity of the gospel. It does not soothe us vainly, but if used impartially it cures us effectually. Consider it always in this light, and let the evidence of divine holiness and justice, as displayed in the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus Christ, awaken us to true repentance. O let us not trifle with sin, but hate, resist, and oppose it, and that earnestly. Whoever does not abhor every sin, dishonours God, rejects his salvation, and frustrates the intention of the Redeemer's birth, turns his medicine into poison, and deprives himself of all the blessings which Jesus came to purchase. But every one who wishes to glorify God upon earth, will look upon the revelation of his glory in the nativity of Christ, as a source of the purest joy.

"The second part of the angelic hymn, and consequently the second blessing of our Saviour's coming, is 'Peace on earth.' Peace consists in the disposition of the Almighty to forget the injuries done to his law, and to love, protect, and bless sinners. The meaning, therefore, of the angelic anthem is this. Now is that happy time come, when a solid foundation of peace between God and men shall be laid.

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Peace, which sinners had lost, shall and will be restored by that divine Saviour, who has already begun to procure it. Rejoice in it, all ye who feel and lament your sinfulness, and fear lest a righteous God should frown at you eternally. Behold and rejoice. It is Jesus who came from heaven to restore peace to you. Give not way, therefore, to despondency or anxiety. These glad tidings were published that you might enjoy peace. Do not think that you honour your Saviour by anxious fear. You honour him, *indeed*, by trusting and reposing in him confidently.

"But let me speak a word to those who desire peace, but look for it from their own virtues. Hear the divine gospel proclaimed from heaven. 'Peace on earth,' and that through the Redeemer. He has made peace, he offers, he bestows that blessing. Do you reject this 'Prince of peace?' Then be assured you will never find it, either in time or in eternity. Trust, therefore, no longer in yourselves, or your imperfect works; but come to the divine Saviour for pardon and peace. Remember the Jews of old, who desired righteousness and peace, but would not accept them at the feet of Christ, but as the reward of their own merit, and take warning from their unhappiness. The price by which peace was purchased was not your imperfect, but the absolutely perfect obedience and sufferings of Jesus Christ, your surety. Blessed will you be, if in poverty of spirit you seek it where alone it is to be found,

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namely, in Him. Thousands of real Christians have experienced it. O! try to have the happy experience in your own hearts.

"The third part of the angelic hymn is, 'Good will to, or in men.' For as the preceding clause declares the good will of God to us, this describes our good will both to God and one another. The meaning, I apprehend, is this. Now will men be rightly disposed towards God in consequence of the Redeemer, and of the love of God displayed in him. They will look upon God as their gracious Father, and will love and honour, trust and praise him. And being in that happy frame of mind, they will love one another also, because God has loved them. This is the true spring of all godliness, justice, charity, and goodness. In and through Jesus Christ and his redemption, the love of God and his infinite mercy to sinners are so clearly revealed, that every one who receives the glorious light of it into his heart, cannot but be made unspeakably happy by it; and as soon as man knows and tastes the loving-kindness of God to him, he begins to love him in return. The conclusion which St. John draws, is very natural. 'We love him because he first loved us.' 'All that enmity which is naturally in our heart to God, arises particularly from want of true and saving knowledge of his love to us. Could the most wicked man be brought to a lively perception of that divine love of God towards him, he would lay aside his enmity, adore God, and love him with all his heart. Could the heart of the most sensual man

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be filled with divine peace, so as even for a few moments to enjoy it, he would readily forsake, and disdainfully reject, all the temptations that were offered to draw him away from that sweet sense of the love of God. O let us all seek that good will towards our divine Benefactor. Let us meditate upon his infinite love. Let us pray for his enlightening Spirit, and for a comfortable sense of his lovingkindness to us, and so let us spend this feast, that we may rejoice in it after a godly manner. Let ours be christian, not worldly joy. Rejoicing in Jesus will embitter to us all sensual and sinful mirth. For carnal joy and merriment dishonour God, and bring scandal upon that holy religion which we profess, and is, therefore, a high abuse of the glorious gospel of Jesus.

"And as rejoicing in the benefits of the nativity of our Saviour will incline us to have a good will towards God, so will it render us kind and charitable to our neighbour. Did the Son of God love you so as to become poor for your sake? How should this incline your heart to love your poor neighbour, and to make him a partaker of your joy!

"In short, the joy which arises from the redemption of Jesus, will make truly a good, holy, and charitable people; it will make us happy, and all who live with us. May the Spirit of Jesus Christ work it in us to the honour of his name. Amen!"

The third relic of Swartz's preaching, is on Luke xiv. 16—24; being the Gospel for the second Sunday after Trinity.

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" The Gospel of this day," he observes, " contains a parable which our blessed Saviour delivered in a Pharisee's house, to which he had been invited. His all-piercing eye immediately perceived the pride of the guests, and he warned them against it by powerful motives. And observing how the host of that entertainment aimed at something which spoiled his charity, he advised him to be kind and charitable to the poor, because they being unable to reward him here, he might certainly expect a reward at the resurrection of the just. This occasioned a reflection on the part of one of the guests, by which he seemed to express his desire of spiritual and heavenly blessedness. Our Saviour replied by the following parable; in which he shows, that it is entirely the fault of mankind if they are not happy; because God has done all that is necessary to make them so. He has prepared a feast for them, and has invited them repeatedly and earnestly to partake of it.

" There are three great points to be considered in this parable. The wonderful grace of God prepared and offered to mankind; their astonishing indifference, and even contempt of that grace; and the effect of their neglect of it.

" Our Saviour represents the wonderful mercy of God to mankind under the agreeable image of a supper. ' A certain man made a great supper, and bade many.' In another similar parable, he calls that man a king, and means God himself. A supper, a great supper he has prepared, a feast of the choicest blessings. For whether we consider the

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persons for whom it was prepared, the manner of the preparation, or the blessings which it provides, it may justly be called a great supper.

" The persons for whom it was prepared, were far, very far from deserving it; sinful and apostate creatures, who had lost their original righteousness, and were obnoxious to divine punishment. This aggrandises the mercy of God, and renders it truly adorable.

" The method by which that great feast was prepared, speaks no less his infinite lovingkindness. Our Saviour has revealed it in the clearest manner, when he instituted the Lord's Supper. 'This is the new testament in my blood.' By his bitter suffering and death, the atonement was made, and all its inestimable blessings purchased. This teaches us how dear a price was paid by the Son of God for our recovery and salvation. Here the love of God the Father and of Jesus Christ shines in the divinest lustre. In such a degree God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son. 'He spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all.'

" But what are the blessings represented by our Saviour, under the figure of a great supper? They are the same which St. Paul calls the 'kingdom of God,' viz. righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;' or, as he elsewhere describes them, (1 Cor. i. 30,) 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.'

'By our fall into sin, we are become blind as to divine things. We know not the way to peace and happiness. But Jesus is 'the light of the world, and

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whoso followeth him, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'

"The word of God declares that there is no one by nature truly righteous. But God in mercy sent his Son to procure for us that spotless righteousness which we all need. Of this our Saviour speaks at large, (John vi.,) where he says, that 'his flesh,' given for the atonement of our sins, 'is meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed.' Moreover, God is holy; and this is his will, even our sanctification. All nations, and even heathens, agree in this. But the word of God alone shows the infallible way in which we may attain it. It is Jesus Christ who has not only made known to us the holy will of his heavenly Father, by his divine doctrine and example, but has purchased for us strength to fulfil it—that inexpressibly great gift of the Holy Spirit, to rectify and reform our hearts and lives. This is a glorious privilege, which Scripture frequently inculcates, to our unspeakable comfort. So is Jesus our sanctification—the author of all true holiness. Without him, we can do nothing,—nothing spiritually good and acceptable before God.

"Further, we are but too well convinced that we are surrounded by numerous evils, bodily and spiritual. We feel them, we groan under them, and desire deliverance and redemption from them. But being unable to help ourselves, we are all brought to that weighty question, 'Who shall deliver us?' No man, no angel is able to do it. But, behold, Jesus is

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'made unto us redemption,' the author and finisher of our deliverance.

"All these, and many more blessings, are prepared for us through Jesus Christ; not only that we may know and admire, but that we may enjoy and rejoice in them. This is the reason why they are shadowed forth under the provisions of a supper, and that a great one.

"This is not only prepared, but we are invited to partake of it. From the very time of man's fall, the sweet promise of a Redeemer comforted our first parents in their misery; and, by the sacrifices which they were taught to offer, they were invited to a participation of the blessing of reconciliation, to be afterwards effected, and enjoyed by penitent believers.

"During the period of the Old Testament, the Almighty preached forgiveness to sinners by his prophets. Even that very persuasive representation of a feast or supper, which he would prepare for his people, we find mentioned in the 25th chapter of Isaiah; and in the 55th is the most gracious invitation to accept the promised blessings, 'without money and without price.'

"In the New Testament, this invitation is still more clearly and strongly expressed. So Peter invited the Jewish nation, and all those who were present at the feast of Pentecost, to receive remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost; and so St. Paul, as the ambassador of Christ, invited all to whom he preached to 'be reconciled unto God;' to accept of pardon and peace, of strength and glory.

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"These are convincing proofs of the grace of God towards mankind. Well might we exclaim, in the words of Moses, 'How doth the Lord love his people!" How has he endeavoured to rescue us from misery, and to put us into the joyful possession of the richest blessings! He has acted the part of a most tender father, in proclaiming mercy to those who had deserved his wrath. He has provided a sufficient remedy for those who were unable to help themselves. Truly, such rich and undeserved mercy should draw all our hearts to him, and fill our mouths with praise and thanksgiving.

"But we find an astonishing indifference, nay, contempt of that divine grace. 'They all with one consent began to make excuse.' Deplorable blindness and stupidity, to prefer earthly and transitory things to eternal happiness and glory! The excuses they all made, showed their criminal attachment to the world. They alleged things which in themselves are not sinful. They knew so much of morality as to despise them. But they suffered themselves to be drawn away by things lawful in their nature. Where, then, lies the fault? Not in the objects themselves, but in overvaluing and preferring them to the grace of God in Jesus Christ. They were so blinded by the love of worldly things, that they did not see the excellence and glory of the feast to which they were invited. St. Paul says, 'The God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, which is the image of God, should shine unto them.' They could

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not value the blessings of the kingdom of God. To have a reconciled God, a delightful sense of the pardon of sin, to enjoy the blessedness of the children of God, to be guided by his Spirit, and to partake of his favour, was not so dear to them as their worldly possessions, and the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.

"And by preferring these things to the grace of God, how highly did they dishonour him, who had prepared for them such inestimable blessings! Nay, they treated the invitation to that divine feast as a thing which, if accepted, would injure them in their possessions and pleasures, and therefore they desired to be excused. They thought that they could be as happy without it; there was, as they imagined, no absolute necessity for coming to it. If they were diligent in their respective callings, and honest in their dealings with mankind, they might do as well as others who accepted it. And what is this, but the height of ingratitude and pride?

"This is a sad but true description of the conduct of the Jews of old, as we find it related in the Acts of the Apostles. But is it not also the lamentable behaviour of too many among Christians? Do they not too often prefer worldly, nay, unjust gain to the grace of God? Are not the pleasures of this world, and even such as are condemned in the word of God, the common impediment to true repentance, and a lively application to Jesus and his grace? Nay, do not many among Christians imagine, that though they are not clothed with the righteousness of Jesus,

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their own virtue will bring them to heaven? Is not this plainly contradicting God and his word? Let us hear what Scripture peremptorily affirms. (Heb. x. 28, 29.) 'He that despised Moses' law died without mercy: of how much sorer punishment suppose ye shall he be thought worthy, who has trodden under foot the Son of God, and has counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and done despite unto the Spirit of grace?'

"Let us finally consider the divine sentence passed on all those who refused this gracious invitation—The master of the house was angry: 'I say unto you, that none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.' This sounds, at first, as if the displeasure of the Almighty against the despisers of his grace was not very dreadful. But it is, in fact, fearful beyond expression. What! To have no share in the grace of God; never to taste his loving-kindness; to enjoy no pardon of sins; not to be numbered among the children of God; not to dwell with him; not to be received into glory—what is this but the 'fiery indignation' which shall devour all such presumptuous despisers?

"And, as our Saviour foretold, so we find it verified in the judgments of God, which came upon the Jews. Seventeen hundred years that nation has felt the dire effects of the anger of God, and feels it still. They preach to us in the strongest manner, and warn us not to be guilty of the same sin of rejecting the grace of God, lest we become partakers of the same judg-

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ments. 'Behold the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell,' and rejected the grace of God, 'severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.'

"Let us then examine our hearts, and try how we stand affected to that wonderful grace of God in Jesus Christ, and his bountiful invitation to come to his great supper. We are invited to it as well as the Jews. We need it as much as they. 'Come, for all is prepared,'—'Be ye reconciled unto God,'—is the persuasive voice of the gospel. O that we all might hearken to that winning voice! O that we might come, even to-day! Who knows whether grace will be offered to-morrow? 'To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.'

"Happy, thrice happy, are all those who, being sensible of the infinite mercy of God, and their absolute need of it, resolve manfully to reject everything that would hinder them from coming to that heavenly feast. They enjoy here what all the world cannot bestow, and hereafter the fruition of the blessing will be final and complete.

"Let us then come sincerely, with a true and earnest desire after reconciliation with God. Disdain whatever would obstruct the way, and keep you back from coming unto Christ. 'Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.' To love the world, is to suffer it to come into competition with God, and is the very height of ingrati-

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tude. But above all, let us come humbly acknowledging that we are undone, except we have a share in Jesus Christ,—in his sacrifice, atonement, righteousness, and blessing. He is 'the way, the truth, and the life. No man cometh unto the Father but by Him.' Paul, though one of the greatest apostles, humbly acknowledged his utmost need of Christ, (Phil. iii.) 'not having,' he says, 'mine own righteousness.' And the consideration of his own poverty, together with the riches of the grace of God, made him exclaim, 'Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ!' He is my greatest gain. If I have Him, I have everything: pardon, peace, joy, reconciliation with God, eternal life. Happy was Paul in his choice, and happy shall we be if we follow him. May the Spirit of Jesus incline our hearts to consider the things which belong to our peace! Amen."

The fourth of these valuable remains of Swartz is from the beautiful conclusion of the 13th chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. "And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."

"In this memorable passage," he observes, "the apostle sums up the principal parts of real Christianity, and gives a full answer to that momentous

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question, 'What must we do to be saved?' Three things are necessary.

"I. The first is faith, by which we understand an assent to all that is revealed by God in the holy Scriptures. But as the doctrine of a Redeemer is the main point of divine revelation, by faith we are principally to understand the assent which we give to the testimony of Scripture concerning a Saviour, and, consequently, dependence on him for every blessing."

He next proceeds to give a view of the natural condition of mankind, similar to that which occurs in the preceding sermons, as blind with respect to spiritual things, averse to what is good, and "inclined towards that which is evil." In respect of their affections of love, fear, hope—all gone astray; without strength to rise and do the will of God; dead in trespasses and sins; condemned by the divine law, which all have transgressed; 'without comfort and without hope.'

"Who shall rescue such wretched, forlorn sinners? No creature in heaven or earth; none but Jesus the Son of God." His divine nature, his spotless purity, perfect obedience, and painful and ignominious death upon the cross, are then declared to be the only foundation of all spiritual and heavenly blessings; "of which great salvation, the glorious God has given assurance unto all men, by raising him from the dead, placing him at his own right hand, and giving him all power in heaven and earth.

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"But how," he continues, "a convinced sinner may say, shall I become a partaker of that divine salvation? The apostle replies, By faith: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Acknowledge thy sinfulness and corruption before Jesus Christ with the deepest humility. Turn away thine eyes from all creatures, for they cannot save thee. Turn unto him who has borne thy sins, and has made a full atonement for them all; entreat him to have mercy on thee, to wash thee in his blood, to forgive thee all thy sins. Give thyself up to him; receive him as thy prophet, to teach thee; as thy high priest, to atone for thee; as thy king, to rule and govern thee. If thou humblest thyself in such a manner, despairing of thine own strength, and that of other creatures, and solely depending on Jesus for every blessing, then thou art a believer. How weighty a thing it is to believe; how humble do we become; how low do all creatures appear; how great, how glorious does Jesus appear in the eyes of a believer!

"Here let us pause, and ask ourselves, Do we believe in Jesus Christ? A question of the utmost importance. O let your conscience answer it sincerely. Have you ever been convinced of your sinful and lost condition, so as to see the necessity of a Redeemer? A proud man, who does not feel his blindness, and poverty, and corruption, may occasionally repeat the creed, but still he cannot be styled a true believer. Have you ever fled for refuge unto Jesus, and earnestly entreated him to par-

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don your sins, and to make you a sharer in the blessings of his salvation? Is there a sacred hunger and thirst in your heart after Jesus and his righteousness? Has your faith made you free from your idolatrous attachment to the creature, and from the love of the world? If it has, then are you truly believing. By this faith a man is made truly happy. His sins, as the only cause of his uneasiness, being forgiven, he has peace with God, and access to the throne of grace.

"II. But some may be apt to say, 'We have heard what has been said of faith, of its foundation and nature, and of the happiness annexed to it. Where, however, are these happy people? Even the best Christians cannot help complaining; and that argues no great happiness.'

"In order to remove this doubt about happiness, the apostle asserted the second principle which animates a true Christian, and that is hope. This consists in a well-grounded expectation of future blessings, and is highly necessary to every Christian, to cheer him in his way to heaven. For it cannot be denied that this life is, in many respects, full of misery, full of evil; for deliverance from which we pray in the Lord's Prayer. Even the best of Christians is conscious of much ignorance, and blindness of understanding. 'We know,' says the apostle, 'but in part.' Our knowledge, as to its clearness, distinctness, and vividness, is very imperfect. Our will, though mended in some degree, is still too stubborn, and not so subject to the law of God as we could

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wish. Our desires, hopes, fears, griefs, are not so well rectified as they ought to be. Our bodies are subject to pain, sickness, death, and the grave; besides what we suffer from the folly and wickedness of our fellow-creatures. The apostle Paul had a good share, particularly in sufferings from wicked men.

"Is all this true? may the worldly man say—What becomes, then, of your glorying and happiness?

"The Christian still glories, notwithstanding all these things; because he has a lively hope of a consummate happiness prepared for him by his gracious Redeemer, and made lively in his heart by the Holy Ghost. So the apostle teaches us in the 5th chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. 'Hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us;' and Rom. xv. 13—'Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that you may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost.'

"Is the Christian afflicted with poverty? He knows that he shall possess eternal riches, laid up for him in heaven. Does he suffer reproach from an ungodly world? He does not repine. For besides the benefits he reaps from such treatment, he knows that Jesus Christ will shortly clear and vindicate his character, not in the eyes of a few, but in the sight of men and angels. Does he suffer pain? He is content, being convinced that his 'vile body shall ere long be made like unto the glorious body' of his

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Saviour. Nay, at last, when death approaches, he exercises his hope by looking forward to eternal life. In short, there is no affliction which can deprive him of his hope, which he has conceived by believing in Jesus Christ.

"This hope which a Christian maintains in his heart, is not an idle speculation, but an active principle, from which flow many of his brightest actions, —his patience under all sorts of suffering; (Heb. xi.;) his contentment with all the wise dealings of his heavenly Father; his care not to use unlawful means to help himself in afflicting circumstances; his constancy in doing the will of God, in spite of all the ingratitude he experiences from an evil world; for, what he does, he does for the sake of God, who will reward him abundantly, and that very soon.

"Here let me ask you again, have *you* such a hope of eternal blessedness? The greater part of us will be ready to say, 'To be sure! We all hope to be happy!' But let me ask you seriously, what is the groundwork of your hope? Hope is the result of faith in Jesus. Besides, what is the effect of your hope? The apostle St. John characterises the true hope of a Christian very accurately, when he says, 'Every one that hath this hope in him,' viz. of seeing God, 'purifieth himself, even as he is pure.' So that, if a man does not purify himself, and become more and more like unto God, he has no solid hope, however he may flatter himself, of seeing him hereafter 'as he is.'

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"III. Let us now represent a person truly believing in Jesus, and united to him, washed from his sins, strengthened by his Spirit, and cheered with a hope of an unspeakably glorious crown hereafter. Being endowed with such a precious faith and lively hope, what will he do? What will be the effect of such a faith and hope? Love towards God and all men. A person that is blessed with such faith and hope, cannot but love God and all mankind, and that from the bottom of his heart. He looks upon God as his Father, who has loved him in an unspeakable manner; who sent his only begotten Son into the world for his eternal happiness; who has called him out of darkness into marvellous light; who has blessed him with pardon, peace, and hope; and this heartily inclines him to love him sincerely and ardently. The conclusion which St. John draws from the love of God towards us is very natural. 'We love him, because he first loved us.' Such a Christian will esteem and venerate, adore and praise God, keep his commandments, honour his name, his sabbath-day, his word. Love will teach him all this. His soul and body he will present as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which will be his reasonable service. Such an one will not be conformed to this world, but transformed by the renewing of his mind, that he may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God. Whether he eats or drinks, or whatsoever he does, he will endeavour to do it to the glory of God.

"Let us seriously examine our hearts and lives,

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whether we have loved God in such a manner. Have we venerated him and his divine name above all? Have we delighted in him so as to renounce sinful pleasures? Have we endeavoured to glorify God, or to promote the honour of his name among those with whom we live? Have we worshipped him, privately and publicly, in such a manner as to inspire others with devotion? Have we kept the Lord's day in a holy manner?

"And as he loves God, so he will likewise love his neighbour; and that not only externally, but from his heart. The sense of the love of God will be to him instead of a thousand commandments. He will love the souls of his fellow-creatures; the ignorant he will instruct by word and example; the wicked he will endeavour to convert, and to lead them into the path of piety; the poor and afflicted he will assist, nourish, and comfort, according to the ability which God hath given him. He will take care not to offend or injure his neighbour, either in his fortune or his name. So that backbiting, envy, strife, malice, will be far from him; and all this will flow from a principle of faith and hope.

"What a happiness it would be if all Christians were actuated by such love or desire of making others happy here and hereafter!

"Let me, therefore, ask you seriously, before that God who knows your heart and ways, Do you love your neighbour sincerely? Is it the bent of your lives, not only to honour your God, but likewise to make your fellow-creatures happy? Have you

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showed a tender regard to their eternal welfare? You see thousands before your eyes sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. Have you endeavoured, at least by your example, to convince them of the purity and excellence of your religion? Have you discouraged vice and wickedness, or have you promoted it, and so laid a stumbling-block before your ignorant and careless fellow-creatures? Have you assisted the poor and needy in their distressful circumstances, or have you been regardless of their misery?

"Let us examine our hearts seriously, and whatsoever we find in our behaviour to have been against the will of God, let us immediately repent of it, and beg forgiveness in the name of Jesus Christ. Cultivate these three principles,—faith, hope, and love; and you will glorify God, enjoy true happiness, and edify your fellow-creatures; which God grant!"

Such are the pulpit remains of this apostolic and persuasive preacher. They are, like everything connected with his character, marked by the most perfect simplicity; but, at the same time, by an energy of thought, and frequently by a vigour of expression, which prove at once the sincerity and the efficacy of his religion. One grand subject pervades his sermons, as it formed the prevailing theme of his correspondence and his ministerial labours—the gospel of Christ, as the only and all-sufficient remedy for the guilt and misery of fallen man; the love of God, in sending his Son to save us; the love

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of Christ, in dying for us; pardon and peace through faith in the atoning blood of the cross, that faith "working by love" to God and man, purifying the heart, and overcoming the world; producing, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, true happiness even here, and animating the Christian with a lively and joyful hope of perfect and eternal blessedness hereafter. Such was the cheering, intelligible, and scriptural view which Swartz invariably presented of christian doctrine. The incidental references to his ministerial instructions, which occur in his letters and journals, show how diligently he laboured in filling up this outline with the details of principle and precept, and how wisely he adapted his exhortations to the peculiar character and condition of his hearers.

There is one circumstance relative to his discourses which is particularly deserving of attention. This is the sound judgment and practical tendency by which they are distinguished. Nothing visionary, doubtful, or enthusiastic, is to be traced in any part of them. The purest evangelical truths, and the most spiritual and exalted principles, are combined with the most forcible appeals to the conscience and the heart; and while the mercies of redemption are inculcated, as the exclusive ground of acceptance with God, and the most prevailing motive to obedience, the tenor of a holy life is insisted upon as the only satisfactory evidence of a state of salvation.

These were the leading features of his teaching: and, confirmed and illustrated as they were by his

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own eminent and consistent example, we cannot be surprised that they should be followed by the most striking and beneficial results, not only on the professed Christians, but on the various classes of idolaters and unbelievers, who surrounded him and listened to his instructions.

The very few of his surviving friends who remember Swartz in the pulpit, represent his appearance and manner as remarkably resembling the preceding specimens of his style—simple and unaffected, but energetic and impressive; using, like the apostle to the Gentiles, "great plainness of speech," but speaking also like him, "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power," and "by manifestation of the truth commending himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God;" while, equally with the great apostle, "speaking the truth in love," out of the fulness of a heart penetrated by the mercies of redemption, and habitually glowing with christian kindness, he succeeded in conciliating the confidence and affection of his hearers, and vindicated his claim to the character of true wisdom, by winning many souls to the faith and hope of the Gospel.

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